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At the End of the Pickawillany Path.

Looking up the Big Miami River from Opposite the Mouth of Loramie's Creek. The Creek comes in on the left. Pickawillany Town stood south and west of the trees at the extreme left.

From a photograph furnished by Mr. Clark B. Jamison.

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The Wilderness Trail

Or

The Ventures and Adventures of the Pennsylvania Traders on the Allegheny Path

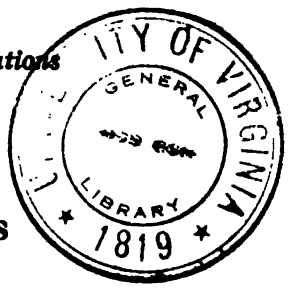
With Some New Annals of the Old West, and the Records of Some Strong Men and Some Bad Ones

By

Charles A. Hanna

Author of
"The Scotch-Irish"

With Eighty Maps and Illustrations



In Two Volumes

Volume Two

G. P. Putnam's Sons
New York and London
The Knickerbocker Press
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CHAPTER I

GEORGE CROGHAN, THE KING OF THE TRADERS

GEORGE CROGHAN came to America from Ireland in 1741. He appears to have been first licensed as an Indian Trader in Pennsylvania in 1744, the year after Logstown was built. He was made a Councillor of the Six Nations at Onondaga in 1746, according to his own sworn statement. Governor Morris, writing to the Governor of Maryland at the beginning of the year 1755, says that "Mr. Peters assures me that Mr. Croghan has never been deemed a Roman Catholic, [some people of that faith were then suspected of treasonable correspondence with the French], nor does he believe that he is one, though he knows not his education, which was in Dublin, nor his religious profession." Croghan first appears in the official correspondence of Pennsylvania as writing to Secretary Peters, May 26, 1747, that he had just returned from the woods, bringing a letter, a French scalp, and some wampum, for the Governor from a party of Six Nations Indians having their dwelling on the borders of Lake Erie (at Cuyahoga), who had formerly been in the French interest; and who now, thanks to Croghan's diplomacy, had, with "all-most all the Ingans in the Woods," declared against the French. This, and perhaps a second letter, was laid before the Pennsylvania Council by Mr. Peters June 8th, with the information that Mr. Croghan was a considerable Indian Trader, and "had traded this past winter on the borders of Lake Erie with a nation of Indians called ——— ——— [Wyandots] who were formerly in the French interest, but are now come over and have begun hostilities, along with some of the Six Nations, against the French."

Croghan went to Logstown in April, 1748, with a message and present from the Pennsylvania Council to the Ohio Indians. He returned again in August, when Weiser carried a larger present to the western allies of Pennsylvania. Weiser lodged in Croghan's storehouse during his visit to Logstown in that year.

Croghan was sent to Logstown again in August, 1749, to counteract the influence of Celoron's visit, and arrived there but a few days after

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the latter had departed; though soon enough to bind the Indians closer than ever in their allegiance to the English.

Croghan was appointed as one of the justices for Cumberland County, at the time of its erection, in 1749. He then lived in East Pennsboro Township, about five miles west of the Susquehanna.

In the spring of 1750 he accompanied Richard Peters and his fellow magistrates on a trip among the settlers on the Indian lands in Path, Tuscarora, Juniata, and Aughwick valleys, warning them off, burning their cabins, and confining some to prison for their intrusions. In the fall of the same year, he went with Andrew Montour to Logstown, and thence to Conchake, on the Muskingum, where he also had a trading house, and where Christopher Gist overtook him in December. Gist had written of him at Logstown, on his way out, "enquired for Croghan, who is a meer idol among his countrymen, the Irish Traders." They journeyed together to the Lower Shawnee Town, where Croghan boldly announced to the Shawnees at a Council held January 30, 1751, that the French had offered a large sum of money to any one who would bring them the bodies or scalps of Croghan or Montour. From the Lower Shawnee Town, the party proceeded to Pickawillany, where Croghan made a treaty for Pennsylvania with two tribes of the Miamis—the Piankeshaws and Ouiatanons. This treaty was afterwards repudiated by the Governor, and Croghan censured.

Croghan went to Logstown with Andrew Montour in May, 1751, to carry another Provincial present to the Indians. While there, he met Joncaire, the French Indian agent, but succeeded in outwitting him in diplomacy; and the chiefs ordered the French from their lands, and reasserted their friendship for the English. At this time they also requested that the Governor should cause a strong house to be built on the Ohio for the protection of their wives and children in case they should be obliged to engage in war, and for the protection of the Traders. The Assembly asserted that this request was misunderstood or misrepresented by Croghan, and rejected it with an insult.

In February, 1752, Croghan wrote the Governor from the Lower Shawnee Town, enclosing a message from the Indians of that place. At that time he had a storehouse there. In June, Croghan was at Logstown, and took part in the treaty between the Indians and the Virginia Commissioners.

On April 10, 1753, Captain William Trent wrote Governor Hamilton from Virginia, telling him that he had just received a letter from Mr. Croghan, giving an account of the attack made by a party of French Mohawks on eight of his and Lowrey's Traders "at a place called Kentucky"; and of the killing of three of John Finley's men and the disappearance of Finley. This attack took place on the 26th of January;

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and it is possible that Croghan spent a portion of that winter at the Lower Shawnee Town or Logstown, or between both places. In company with William Trent, Robert Callender, and other Traders, Croghan was at Pine Creek, near Logstown, on May 7th, when the letter arrived from John Fraser of Venango, stating that the French were on Lake Erie in large force, with brass cannons, on their way to the Ohio. On the 12th, he held a conference at Pine Creek with Scarrooyady and the Half King. He was present at an important council between the Pennsylvania Commissioners and chiefs of the Six Nations, Shawnees, Delawares, Wyandots, and Twightwees, held at Carlisle in October, 1753. He had assisted William Fairfax of Virginia at a conference with the same chiefs held at Winchester a week or two before.

About this time or soon after, he was compelled by impending bankruptcy, and the fear of being imprisoned for debt, to remove from the settled parts of Cumberland County, and take up his residence in the Indian country, building a house at Aughwick Old Town, near the Juniata. In the instructions given December 5, 1753, by Governor Hamilton to John Patten, who was to carry a message to the Ohio Indians, Patten was instructed to call, on his way West, "at Mr. George Croghan's *at Aucquick*, and accompany Andrew Montour to Ohio, if he went." Croghan himself preceded Patten and Montour to the Ohio, taking with him two Shawnee prisoners who had been released from jail in South Carolina, and were to be returned to their tribe. He reached Shanoppin's Town on January 13th, where he was overtaken by Montour and Patten, and the party proceeded to Logstown. Here they remained, from the 14th to the 26th, unable to do any business with the Indians, as they were all drunk, on brandy furnished by La Force and a detachment of French soldiers then encamped in that town. On February 2d, just as they were leaving Logstown, the Indians gave them a belt of black wampum with a message to the governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia, saying that if they did not send assistance immediately, the Indians would surely be cut off by their enemy, the French. On the way back, Croghan tarried at the Forks of the Ohio, from whence he wrote Peters and Hamilton that William Trent (Croghan's partner in trade) had just come out with the Virginia goods, and workmen and tools to begin a fort; and as he could not speak the Indian language, Croghan was obliged to stay and assist him in delivering the goods. Croghan was at his house in Aughwick again in March, from whence he wrote Secretary Peters on the 23d. Twenty-five days later, his half-brother, Ensign Edward Ward, surrendered to the French the incompleted Virginia fort at the Forks of the Ohio.

On May 14th, Croghan wrote Governor Hamilton, telling him that

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Montour and himself would set off in two days to meet the chiefs of the Ohio Indians at the Monongahela, and advising him to send ammunition to the Shawnees at Ohio, as the Half King had notified Croghan that they were in a desperate condition, and if not immediately supplied by the English they would be forced to yield to the French.

In the early part of June, Croghan was with George Washington and his little army, on the march from Fort Necessity to Redstone, having been sent from Winchester or Will's Creek, with Andrew Montour and a company of Traders by Governor Dinwiddie, in response to a letter from Washington, written June 3d. The Mingo and Delaware chiefs who met Washington refused to accompany him as far as Gist's plantation, and returned on their tracks to Fort Necessity. Croghan was sent back to them with a message. On June 25th, Queen Alliquippa's son (afterwards called Captain Newcastle) brought a letter from him to the commander, stating that he was unsuccessful in getting the Indians to return. Washington's *Journal* comes to an abrupt end two days later; and his record of Croghan's further movements at that time is lost.

Washington surrendered Fort Necessity at Great Meadows to the French July 3d. On the 21st, Andrew Montour wrote Governor Hamilton from Winchester that the Half King and Monekatootha (Scarrooyady), with a body of the Six Nations from Ohio came down to the back parts of Virginia after the defeat, but would not stay in that Government, and had gone to "Aucquick" (Croghan's settlement) to settle, where the other Indians, as fast as they could get off from the French, would join them. "As there is a large body of them and no ground there to hunt to support their families, they expect their brothers, the Pennsylvanians, will provide for their families; as their men will be engaged in the War."

On August 16th, Croghan wrote Hamilton from Aucquick Old Town, stating that the Half King and Scarrooyady, with several other Indians and their families, had been there since Colonel Washington's defeat; and that about twelve days ago, the young Shawonese king from the Lower Shawanese Town, and several more with him, and Delaware George and several other Delawares, came there from the French fort, Delaware George bringing a letter from Captain Robert Stobo, one of the hostages given the French by Washington, and then detained at Fort Duquesne.

Conrad Weiser was sent by Governor Hamilton to Aughwick to treat with these Indians and others. He reached there September 3d. In the letter accompanying his report to the Governor, Weiser wrote that he had counted about twenty cabins about Croghan's house, and in them at least two hundred Indians, men, women, and children, with

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a great many more scattered about through the valley, some two or three miles off. Croghan wrote Governor Morris November 23d, that there were then about one hundred and eighty Indians at Aughwick, who expected to winter with him there. He likewise wrote that a Delaware Indian spy whom he had sent to the French fort had returned with the news that there were three hundred French families settling at the Twightwee town (Pickawillany) and thereabouts. The latter news was also sent by Governor Horatio Sharpe from Maryland some two or three weeks later, with the further information that the French families had settled on Mad Creek, near the Maguck.

On December 27th, Sharpe wrote to Morris (who had succeeded James Hamilton as Governor of Pennsylvania), stating that Mr. Croghan's conduct had been represented to him in a light not very favorable or amiable; that he was a Roman Catholic, and that one, Campbell, of the same persuasion, who generally resided at Croghan's house, had recently paid a visit to the French; complaining of Croghan's conduct in having opened the letters sent by Captain Stobo at Fort Duquesne by way of Aughwick to Will's Creek; and accusing him of telling the friendly Indians false stories in order to divert them from going to the camp at Will's Creek. Governor Morris wrote in reply that Croghan, though educated at Dublin, was not deemed to be a Roman Catholic; that the man, Campbell, had no connection with Croghan; and that the latter had sent the copies of Stobo's intercepted letters to former Governor Hamilton.

In a "Detail of Indian Affairs," prepared for Governor Morris at the time he succeeded Hamilton (October, 1754), it is stated that, before the outbreak of hostilities with the French, "Croghan and others had stores on ye Lake Erie, all along ye Ohio from Bar [?], and other storehouses on Lake Erie, all along ye Miami River, and up and down that fine country watered by ye Branches of ye Miamis, Sioto, and Muskingham Rivers, and upon the Ohio from Bockaloons, an Indian Town near its head, to below ye mouth of the Miami River, an extent of 500 miles on one of the most beautiful rivers in ye world, and they traded all along the River."

Croghan wrote Secretary Richard Peters December 2d., "I am greatly obliged to you for leting me know how ill I am represented to you. . . . I will be very willing to go to Philadelphia, either with Indians or without, att any time that you will appoint, to meet you and Mr. [Richard] Hockley [Thomas Penn's agent in America], and do all in my power to secure you boath; and those that say otherwise to you dose me wronge. Pray could not ye Assembly pass an actt of bankrucpt, to oblidge ye merchants to take what effects we [the firm of Croghan &

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Trent] have for pay, and so discharge us. I should be glad to know if that could be don, or in what maner to proceed."

May 1, 1755, Croghan wrote Morris from Aughwick: "To-morrow morning all those Indians here set off with me to the Camp [at Will's Creek], to wait upon the General [Braddock], except the women and children, chief of which insist on staying here."

Engineer Harry Gordon's *Journal*,[1] states that General Braddock arrived at the camp at Will's Creek (Fort Cumberland), May 10th, and found there one hundred Indian men, women, and children. Richard Peters, who visited the camp in May, reported that he found there Andrew Montour, Scarrooyady, and about forty of the Indians from Aughwick, with their wives and families, "who were extremely dissatisfied at not being consulted with by the General, and got frequently into high quarrels, their squas bringing them money in plenty, which they got from the officers, who were scandalously fond of them." Croghan wrote Morris from Fort Cumberland, May 20th: "Tomorrow, what Indian women and children came here with me set off back for Aucquick, by order of the General, the men entirely going with the General; and the General insists on my going with him. . . . I have here about fifty men [Indians and Traders], and in a few days expect twenty more, which were left behind at my house."

On the same day, Braddock wrote Governor Morris that he had engaged forty or fifty Indians for Pennsylvania to go with him over the mountains, "and shall take Croghan and Montour into service."

James Burd, who was in command of a party cutting a road to Raystown, wrote Peters, June 17th, from "Allogueepy's Town," that he had received a letter two days before from George Croghan, then at Little Meadows. Joseph Shippen reported on his return from Little Meadows that he had counted but seven Indians there, and had asked Mr. Croghan what had become of the rest of the thirty-seven he started with. "He say'd they were gone from Fort Cumberland with their wives and children to Awkwick, to leave them there, and expected to see them again before he could get to the Great Meadows." Daniel East, a servant of Joseph Simon's, was at the Great Crossing of the Youghiogheny, fifteen miles beyond Little Meadows, and reported to Edward Shippen, on his return to Lancaster, that, by the help of Mr. Croghan and his seven Indians, Sir John Sinclair had discovered a party of two or three hundred French Indians, and pursued and driven them off.

Croghan was back in Aughwick during the summer and fall following Braddock's defeat. On the 9th of October he wrote Charles Swaine at Shippensburg, requesting the loan of six guns, with powder

[1] Printed in an incomplete form as "A Seaman's Journal" in Sargent's *Braddock's Expedition;* in a correct form in Hulbert's *Braddock's Road.*

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and lead, and stating that he hoped to have the stockade around his house finished by the middle of the following week. He also sent reports he had received from an Indian who had come from Ohio, who stated that, at the time he left, the French had 160 men ready to set out, for the purpose of harassing the English settlements; that Croghan's Indian friends there desired him to leave Aughwick as soon as the French succeeded in drawing the Susquehanna Indians to them; for otherwise, he would lose his scalp; and that the French would, if possible, lay all the back frontiers in ruins that winter. On November 12th, Croghan wrote James Hamilton, from Shippensburg, giving him Indian news from Ohio. He was more afraid of arrest and imprisonment for debt than of losing his scalp, and added to his letter: "From ye misfortunes I have had in tread [trade] which oblidges me to keep at a greatt distance, I have itt nott in my power to forward intelegance so soon as I could wish."

At a meeting of the Pennsylvania Assembly held November 26, 1755, the following petition was presented by fifteen creditors of George Croghan and William Trent, their names being Jeremiah Warder, Samuel Neave, William and David McIlvaine, Buckridge Sims, Benjamin and Samuel Shoemaker, James Wallace, James Benezet, Thomas Campbell, William West, Adam Hoops, John Potter, David Franks, for Levy and Company, and Joseph Morris. They were mostly Philadelphia and Lancaster merchants and tradespeople, who had furnished goods or services to Croghan during the time of his extensive trading operations with the Ohio Indians:

The Petition of the principal Creditors of George Croghan and William Trent, of the County of Cumberland, Partners and Indian Traders, humbly sheweth:

That the said George Croghan and William Trent stand indebted to your Petitioners, and sundry others, in considerable and large sums of money; and that by many losses, occasioned by the defection of our Indian Allies from their former friendship and amity with this Province, and the invasion and conquest by the French on the Ohio and the adjacent country (where, for the most part, the goods purchased of your Petitioners were sold, the contracts by the said George Croghan and William Trent made, and their debts became due), they are rendered altogether destitute of money or effects to make that satisfaction to their creditors which their inclination and conscience would oblige them to do were it in their power;

That the said George Croghan has been for some time and is now at Aughwick, in the most melancholy and deplorable circumstances, in a condition very defenceless, destitute of all kinds of provisions but what is procured at the hazard of his life, and daily liable to the invasion and massacre of our barbarian enemies;

That your Petitioners are well assured that the sole cause of his

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continuing there in this dangerous and truly unhappy situation proceeds from an apprehension that some of his creditors would lay him under arrest and deprive him of his liberty, should he come into the more settled parts of the Province;

That, although the chief and principal of the creditors of the said George Croghan and William Trent reside in this City, and are of the subscribers hereunto, yet there are many others to whom less sums are due, dispersed throughout the several Counties in this and the adjacent Provinces, which renders it next to impossible to procure all their creditors to sign a general letter of license (the usual method made use of in such cases), however inclinable they may be so to do;

That your Petitioners conceiving that the keeping of the said George Croghan under his present unhappy circumstances will answer no good end, and at the same time taking into their consideration the great knowledge of the said George Croghan in Indian Affairs, his extensive influence among them, and the service and public utility he may be of to this Province in these respects, they are willing cheerfully to surrender up their just demands against the said George Croghan and William Trent for the space of Ten Years; and are induced to pray that this House would be pleased to take the premises into their wise and prudent consideration, and enact such a law as they shall think most expedient and fit, to render the said George Croghan and William Trent, or either of them, free from any arrest, suit, trouble, or molestation whatsoever, for any sums of money which are now due, or contracted for and yet to become due, as well to us as others their said Creditors; inserting, nevertheless, in the said Act, a Proviso, that nothing therein contained shall affect any debts which are due to any person whatsoever from the said George Croghan and William Trent, in Company with others, so as to discharge their Partners (if any there be) from such Company debts.

A bill was accordingly drawn and passed by the Assembly on November 28th, giving Messrs. Croghan and Trent freedom from arrest for the period of ten years. It was presented to the Governor for his signature. On the 29th, he was informed by Mr. Richard Hockley, agent for Thomas Penn, that he, Hockley, had had no notice of the application for the bill for the relief of Croghan and Trent, though he had been in partnership with them, and was by far the largest creditor. On reading the bill, he proposed an amendment, which was accepted by the House, and the Governor enacted it into a law by affixing his signature.

This act, after standing for nearly three years, was disallowed, vetoed, and repealed by King George II., at Kensington, June 16, 1758.[1]

Croghan met the Governor and three members of his Council at Carlisle January 13, 1756. He informed them that he had sent a friendly Indian to the Ohio for intelligence, who had been to Kittanning, the residence of Chief Shingas and Captain Jacobs. That there, Beaver,

[1] *Penna. Col. Rec.*, viii., 320.

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brother of Shingas, had told him the Six Nations had given the war hatchet to the Delawares and Shawnees; that the messenger had then gone to the Logstown, and was told the same thing by the Shawnees there; and that there were a number of the Six Nations Indians still living in the Shawnee and Delaware towns, who always accompanied them in their war parties against the English settlements. On the 15th, 16th, and 17th, Croghan acted with Conrad Weiser as interpreter at a conference held by the Governor with The Belt of Wampum, Arroas (Silver Heels), Jagrea, Captain Newcastle, Seneca George, and others, chiefs and warriors of the Mingoes.

On February 9th, Francis West wrote from Carlisle to his brother, William, in Philadelphia, stating that the soldiers at Croghan's Fort in Aughwick had killed two of the neighboring Indians.

At Carlisle, on April 24, 1756, Croghan made up an account of his "losses occasioned by the French and Indians driving the English Traders off the Ohio," in 1754. Some of the items in this account, to which Croghan's affidavit was attached, were as follows:

"One Store House, fenced fields of Indian Corn, and numbers of large canoes and batteaux above the mouth of Pine Creek.

"One Store House at the Logstown, twelve miles from Fort Du Quesne, on the northwest side of Ohio, £150.

"One Store House at Muskingum [Conchake], £150.

"One large Store House on the Ohio, opposite to the Mouth of the River Scioto, where the Shawanese had built their new Town, called the Lower Shawanese Town; which House, we learn by the Indians, is now in the possession of a French Trader, £200." This item of property seized is stated to have belonged to "William Trent, George Croghan, Robert Callender, and Michael Teaff, Traders in Company."

In these accounts of Croghan & Company it is also stated that they lost goods, in the hands of Thomas Burney and Andrew McBryar, at the taking of the Twightwees' Town (Pickawillany), to the value of £331, 15s.

Soon after making up this account of his losses, Croghan departed from Pennsylvania and joined his fortunes with those of Sir William Johnson in the Mohawk Valley. On the 24th of June, 1756, he took part in a conference held by the baronet with some chiefs of the Six Nations at Onondaga Lake.

About the same time Governor Hardy, of New York, wrote to Governor Morris for a sample of Croghan's handwriting; as he wanted to compare it with that of some intercepted messages which had been sent by French spies in Pennsylvania, destined for Canada. Morris answered this letter July 5th, saying in relation to Croghan: "There were many Indian Traders with Braddock, and Croghan among others,

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who acted as a Captain of the Indians [and Traders], under a warrant from Gen. Braddock; and I never heard any objections to his conduct in that capacity. For many years he had been very largely concerned in the Ohio Trade, was upon that River frequently, and had a considerable influence among the Indians, speaking the language of several nations, and being very liberal, or rather, profuse, in his gifts to them; which, with the losses he sustained by the French, who seized great quantities of his goods, and by not getting the debts due to him from the Indians, he became bankrupt, and since has lived at a place called Aughwick, in the back parts of this Province; where he had generally a number of Indians with him, for the maintenance of whom the Province allowed him sums of money from time to time, but not to his satisfaction. After this he went by my order with those Indians and joined Gen. Braddock, who gave the warrant I have mentioned. Since Braddock's defeat, he returned to Aughwick, where he remained till an act of Assembly was passed here granting him a freedom from arrest for ten years. This was done that the Province might have the benefit of his knowledge of the Woods, and his influence among the Indians; and immediately thereupon, while I was last at York, a Captain's commission was given to him, and he was ordered to raise men for the defence of the Western Frontier, which he did in a very expeditious manner; but not so frugally as the Commissioners for disposing of the Public Money thought he might have done. He continued in command of one of the Companies he had raised, and of Fort Shirley, on the Western Frontier, about three months, during which time he sent, by my direction, Indian Messengers to the Ohio for Intelligence; but never procured me any that was very material; and having a dispute with the Commissioners about some accounts between them, in which he thought himself ill-used, he resigned his commission; and about a month ago informed me that he had not received his pay on Gen. Braddock's warrant, and desired my recommendation to Gen. Shirley, which I gave him, and he set off directly for Albany; and I hear he is now at Onondaga with Sir William Johnson.

"I believe he knows nothing of the French language, but what he may have picked up among the Indians with whom he dealt, having been concerned in that Trade ever since he came into this country. I send you a letter of his under this cover, and the hand being pretty remarkable, you may easily find out if any papers you have procured are of his writing. I know very few of the Indian Traders besides, as they are mostly a low sort of people, generally too ignorant to be employed as spies, but not at all too virtuous."

Hardy wrote Morris in reply, July 9: "The letters of Croghan is by no means the hand I want. I am rather inclined to think the treason-

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able correspondence must have been carried on by some Roman Catholics. I have heard you have an ingenious Jesuit in Philadelphia."

At the German Flats, August 26, 1756, Sir William Johnson spoke to two parties of warriors, one, of several nations, under the command of Captain Montour and Scarrooyady, the other, a party of Aughquageys and Mohikanders, under Thomas, an Aughquagey (Oghquaga) chief. He asked them to go to the Oneida carrying place, to meet there the army of General Webb; and said that he would send their brother, Mr. Croghan, with them, instead of going himself.

The Indians promised to accompany Croghan, but delayed their departure from day to day; and General Webb, in the meantime, having destroyed his forts, abandoned the carrying place, and returned to German Flats, the proposed expedition under Croghan did not start.

On September 20th, sixty-nine Indians of the Six Nations marched from Fort Johnson under the command of George Croghan, to join the army at Fort Edward.

Croghan is referred to in Sir William Johnson's despatches of November 19th, as his Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs.[1] On the 24th, Sir William gave him written instructions to proceed to Philadelphia and endeavor to persuade the Indians still living near there to continue friendly to the Six Nations and the English; and to inquire into the cause of the bad behavior of the Delawares and Shawnees. Croghan presented this letter to the Pennsylvania Council on the 14th of December, and informed them that he had been appointed to transact Indian Affairs for the Crown in that Province. "The Council, knowing Mr. Croghan's circumstances, was not a little surprised at the appointment," wrote Richard Peters in the *Minutes*. Croghan desired that a meeting might be held with the Indians at the earliest moment, and if possible before the first of March. On the 6th of January, the Assembly agreed to advance enough money to pay the expenses of sending Croghan's messengers to the Indians at Diahoga, for the purpose of calling a conference at Harris's Ferry. Two days later, the Friendly Association (of Quakers) contributed £100 to Croghan, to pay for sending messengers to the Ohio Indians. On the 25th, Croghan wrote the Governor that he had despatched two Conestogas to the Ohio with messages to the Delawares, Shawnees, and Senecas living there.[2]

It was impossible to get the Indians together so early as Croghan wished; so that he returned to Philadelphia. From there he wrote Sir William Johnson, March 14th, enclosing a Memoir, made from his old Journals, of some of his Indian transactions in Pennsylvania before the outbreak of the War. This Memoir reads in part as follows:

[1] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vii., 231.

[2] See Burd's Journal at Fort Augusta, in *Otsinachson*, p. 224.

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"In November, 1748, Mr. Hamilton[1] arrived in Philadelphia, Governor of Pennsylvania. During the late War [1744–47] all the Indian Tribes living on the Ohio and the branches thereof, on this side Lake Erie, were in strict friendship with the English in the several Provinces, and took the greatest care to preserve the friendship then existing between them and us. At that time we carried on a considerable branch of trade with those Indians for Skins and Furs, no less advantageous to them than to us. We sold them goods on much better terms than the French, which drew many Indians over the Lakes to trade with us. The exports of Skins and Furs from this Province at that time will show the increase of our trade in them articles.

"In August, 1749, Governor Hamilton sent me to the Ohio with a message to the Indians, to notifie to them the Cessation of Arms, and to enquire of the Indians the reason of the march of Monsieur Celaroon with two hundred French Soldiers through their country (this detachment under Monsieur Celaroon had passed by the Logs Town before I reached it).

"After I had delivered my message to the Indians, I inquired what the French Commander said to them. They told me he said he was only come to visit them, and see how they were cloathed, for their Father, the Governor of Canada, was determined to take great care of all his children settled on the Ohio, and desired they wou'd turn away all the English Traders from amongst them, for their Father would not suffer them to trade there any more, but would send Traders of his own, who would trade with them on reasonabler terms than the English.

"I then asked them if they really thought that was the intention of the French coming at that time: They answered, yes, they believed the French not only wanted to drive the English Traders off, that they might have the trade to themselves; but that they had also a further intention by their burrying iron plates with inscriptions on them in the mouth of every remarkable Creek, which we know is to steal our country from us. But we will go to the Onondago Council and consult them how we may prevent them from defrauding us of our land.

"At my return I acquainted the Governor what passed between the Indians and me. . . .

"In November [1750] I went to the country of the Twightwees by order of the Governor with a small present to renew the chain of friendship, in company with Mr. Montour Interpreter; on our journey we

[1] Governor James Hamilton was a son of Andrew Hamilton, the most celebrated of the early Philadelphia lawyers and the one who freed John Peter Zenger, the printer, by his eloquent argument before a New York jury. James Hamilton married a daughter of Isaac Miranda, and sister of George Miranda, both early French Indian Traders of Pennsylvania.

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met Mr. Gist, a messenger from the Governor of Virginia, who was sent to invite the Ohio Indians to meet the Commissioners of Virginia at the Logs Town in the Spring following, to receive a present of goods which their father, the King of Great Britain, had sent them. Whilst I was at the Twightwee town delivering the present and message, there came several of the Chiefs of the Wawioughtanes and Pianguisha Nations, living on Wabash, and requested to be admitted into the chain of friendship between the English and the Six Nations and their allies; which request I granted, & exchang'd deeds of friendship with them, with a view of extending His Majesty's Indian interest, and made them a small present. On my return I sent a coppy of my proceedings to the Governor. On his laying it before the House of Assembly, it was rejected and myself condemned for bad conduct in drawing an additional expence on the Government, and the Indians were neglected. . . .

"In April, 1751, the Governor sent me to Ohio with a present of goods; the speeches were all wrote by the Provincial Interpreter, Mr. Wiser. In one of the speeches was warmly expressed that the Govr of Pennsylvania would build a fort on the Ohio, to protect the Indians, as well as the English Traders, from the insults of the French. On the Governor perusing the speech he thought it too strongly expressed, on which he ordered me not to make it, but ordered me to sound the Chief of the Indians on that head, to know whether it would be agreeable to them or not. Which orders I obeyed, and did in the presence of Mr. Montour sound the Half King, Scarioaday, and The Belt of Wampum, who all told me that the building of a Trading House had been agreed on between them and the Onondago Council, since the time of the detachment of French, under the command of Mon^{r} Celaroon, had gone down the river Ohio, and said they would send a message by me to their Brother Onas, on that head.

"After I had delivered the present and done the chief of the business, the Indians in publick Council, by a Belt of Wampum, requested that the Governor of Pennsylvania would immediately build a strong house (or Fort) at the Forks of Monongahela, where the Fort Du Quesne now stands, for the protection of themselves and the English Traders.

"But on my return, this Government rejected the proposal I had made, and condemned me for making such a report to the Government, alledging it was not the intention of the Indians. The Provincial Interpreter, who being examined by the House of Assembly, denyed that he knew of any instructions I had to treat with the Indians for building a Trading House, though he wrote the speech himself, and further said he was sure the Six Nations would never agree to have a Trading House built there, and Governor Hamilton, though he, by his letter of instructions ordered me to sound the Indians on that head, let the House know

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he had given me no such instructions: all which instructions will appear on the records of Indian Affairs.

"The 12th June, 1752, the Virginia Commissioners met the Indians at the Logs Town and delivered the King's present to them. The Indians then renewed their request of having a fort built, as the Government of Pennsylvania had taken no notice of their former request to them, and they insisted strongly on the Government of Virginia's building one in the same place that they had requested the Pennsylvanians to build one; but to no effect.

"In the year 1753 a French army came to the heads of Ohio and built Fort Preskle on the Lake, and another fort at the head of Venango Creek, called by the French Le Buff Rivere. Early in the fall the same year about one hundred Indians from the Ohio came from Winchester in Virginia, expecting to meet the Governor there, who did not come, but ordered Col. Fairfax to meet them. Here again they renewed their request of having a Fort built, and said, altho' the French had placed themselves on the head of Ohio, that if their Brethren the English would exert themselves and send out a number of men, that they would join them & drive the French army away or die in the attempt

"From Winchester those Indians came to Cumberland County, where they were met by Commissioners from Governor Hamilton, and promised the same which they had done in Virginia, but notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of those Indians, the governments neglected building them a fort, or assisting them with men; believing or seeming to believe that there was no French there; till the Governor of Virginia sent Col. Washington to the heads of Venango Creek, where he met the French General at a fort he had lately built there.

"In February, 1754, Captain Trent was at the mouth of Red Stone Creek, building a Store house for the Ohio Company, in order to lodge stores to be carried from there to the mouth of Monongehela, by water, where he had received orders in conjunction with Cresap and Gist to build a fort for that Company. This Creek is about thirty-seven miles from where Fort Du Quesne now stands.

"About the 10th of this month he received a Commission from the Governor of Virginia, with orders to raise a Company of Militia, and that he would soon be joined by Col. Washington. At this time the Indians appointed to meet him at the mouth of Monongehela, in order to receive a present which he had brought them from Virginia. Between this time and that appointed to meet the Indians he raised upwards of twenty men & found them with arms, ammunition, & provisions at his own expense. At this meeting the Indians insisted that he should set his men at work, which he did, and finished a Store House, and a large quantity of timber hew'd, boards saw'd, and shingles made.

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After finishing his business with the Indians he stayed some time, in expectation of Col. Washington joining him, as several accounts came of his being there in a few days. As there was no more men to be had here at this time, there being no inhabitants in this country but Indian Traders, who were scattered over the country for several hundred miles, & no provisions but a little Indian corn to be had, he applied to the Indians who had given him reason to believe they would join him and cut off the French on the Ohio, but when he proposed it to the Half-King, he told him that had the Virginians been in earnest they wou'd have had their men there before that time, and desired him to get the rest of his men and hurry out the provisions. Agreeable to his instructions he went and recruited his company, but before he could get back, it being 110 miles from here to the nighest inhabitants, the French came and drove his people off.

"In June following, when the Indians heard that Col. Washington with a Detachment of the Virginia troops, had reached the great Meadows, the Half-King and Scaruady, with about fifty men, joined him—notwithstanding the French were in possession of this country with six or seven hundred men; so great was their regard for the English at that time.

"After the defeat of Col. Washington, the Indians came to Virginia, where they stayed some time, & then came to my house in Pennsylvania and put themselves under the protection of this Government.

"As soon as possible, they sent messengers to call down the heads of the Delawares and Shawnese to a meeting at my house, and at the same time they desired the Governor of this Province, or some Deputy from him, to meet them there to consult what was best to be done.

"The Governor sent Mr. Wiser, the Provincial Interpreter; the Chiefs of those Indians came down and met him and offered their services, but it was not accepted by Mr. Wiser. He in answer told them to sit still, till Governor Morris arrived, and then he himself wou'd come and let them know what was to be done. They waited there till very late in the fall, but received no answer, so set off for their own country.

"This Government continued to maintain the Indians that lived at my house, till the Spring, when General Bradock arrived; they then desired Governor Morris to let me know they would not maintain them any longer; at which time Governor Morris desired me to take them to Fort Cumberland to meet General Bradock; which I did. On my arrival at Fort Cumberland General Braddock asked me where the rest of the Indians were. I told him I did not know, I had brought but fifty men, which was all that was at that time under my care, and which I had brought there by the directions of Governor Morris. He replied that Governor Dinwiddie told me [him] at Alexandria that he had

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sent for 400, which would be here before me. I answered, I knew nothing of that, but that Captain Montour, the Virginia Interpreter, was in camp & could inform His Excellency. On which Montour was sent for, who informed the General that Mr. Gist's son was sent off some time agoe for some Cherokee Indians, but whether they would come he could not tell. On which the General asked me whether I could not send for some of the Delawares and Shawnese to Ohio. I told him I could; on which I sent a messenger to Ohio, who returned in eight days and brought with him the Chiefs of the Delawares. The General held a conference [with] the Chiefs, in company with those fifty I had brought with me, and made them a handsome present, & behav'd to them as kindly as he possibly could, during their stay, ordering me to let them want for nothing.

"The Delawares promised, in Council, to meet the General on the road, as he marched out, with a number of their warriors. But whether the former breaches of faith on the side of the English prevented them, or that they choose to see the event of the action between General Braddock and the French, I cannot tell; but they disappointed the General and did not meet him.

"Two days after the Delaware Chiefs had left the camp at Fort Cumberland, Mr. Gist's son returned from the Southward, where he had been sent by Govr. Dinwiddie, but brought no Indians with him.

"Soon after, the General was preparing for the march, with no more Indians than I had with me; when Col. Innis told the General that the women and children of the Indians that were to remain at Fort Cumberland, would be troublesome, and that the General need not take above eight or nine men out with him, for if he took more he would find them very troublesome on the march and of no service; on which the General ordered me to send back all the men, women, and children, to my house in Pennsylvania, except eight or ten, which I should keep as scouts and to hunt; which I accordingly did."

Croghan wrote Governor Denny from Harris's Ferry, April 2, 1757, stating that he had gotten there five days before, and found one hundred and sixty Indians, chiefly of the Six Nations, waiting for a conference. He held councils with their chiefs on April 1st and 2d, and then accompanied them to Lancaster, where they remained until the end of the month, a number dying of small-pox while in camp there. Croghan wrote Denny May 2d, that a party of Onondaga warriors had left camp to go to Fort Cumberland, in order to join the Catawba and Cherokee Indians there, and thence proceed against the French war parties; and that on the morrow, Scarrooyady, with a party of Mohawk warriors, would set off for Fort Augusta, to reconnoitre the adjacent woods for a few days, and then proceed towards the Ohio on a scouting expedition.

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Croghan, with Governor Denny and his Council, held conferences with the Six Nations chiefs at Lancaster May 11th to 22d.

On the 17th, the Governor sent Captain George Armstrong to Winchester, Virginia, to inform the Cherokees there that on their return to Fort Loudoun Mr. Croghan would meet them, with presents from the Pennsylvania Government. Captain Richard Paris, a Trader who had come with the Cherokees from the South, wrote Governor Denny in reply: "I durst not mention Mr. Croghan as a fit person to distribute your presents, as the thoughts of that gentleman to the Cherokees is very aggravating, knowing him to be a corrupt peacemaker among the nations who are our enemies."

Croghan wrote General Stanwix from Fort Loudoun in Pennsylvania[1] June 11th, saying that he would set off with Colonel John Armstrong the following morning for Winchester, to treat with the Cherokee Indians. On the 28th, he reported that he had returned to Fort Loudoun the night before, bringing with him fifty-five of the Cherokee warriors from Winchester, and would that day deliver to them the present from the Government.

In accordance with the arrangements set on foot by himself, Croghan, with Governor Denny and his Council, held an important conference with Teedyuscung at Easton, July 21st to August 7th. There were present some one hundred and fifty-nine Delawares (fifty-eight men) and one hundred and nineteen Senecas, and others of the Six Nations. "Mr. Croghan was presented to the Indians as Deputy of Sir William Johnson." At this conference, the Quakers persuaded Teedyuscung that he should have a clerk or secretary of his own to record the minutes, and not trust to Croghan's secretary.[2] Charles Thomson, the master of the Quaker School at Philadelphia (afterwards Secretary of the Continental Congress) was accordingly permitted to act as secretary for Teedyuscung.

Croghan wrote Sir William Johnson of this conference: "All parties in that Government seeming only to endeavor to carry their own private views and interest, and neglect the general interest. . . . In the beginning of the troubles in America, before the present war was declared, when those [Western] Indians called on the Government of Pennsylvania particularly to protect their trade and prevent the French from settling and building forts on Ohio, they were deaf to all their entreaties. . . . What could those Indians do who had no trade with us at that time, and the enemy seated in their country. They were obliged to go into the service of the enemy, in my opinion, contrary to

[1] Not Fort Loudoun, *Tennessee*, as stated by Dr. Thwaites in his edition of Croghan's *Journals*.

[2] *Penna. Col. Rec.*, vii., 660.

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their inclinations. . . . Your Honour will see there is a peace, or rather a truce, made with the Delawares. How long it may continue I can't tell . . . but I shall not wonder if I hear of their committing fresh hostilities on his Majesty's subjects whenever they want a present of goods."

Croghan returned to Fort Johnson, and was present at a conference held there with five Mohawk and Seneca chiefs and two Cherokee deputies, September 10th to 20th. He wrote from the same place December 18th to a friend in Philadelphia, probably Richard Peters or William Trent: "I find by your letter that the Quakers still continue to set up Teedyuscung against the Governor. . . . These people must be mad. . . . They persist in acting now as they did before the War, in Indian Affairs . . . and I am sure the conduct of the Assembly before ye War was a great means of driving ye several Western Nations of Indians out of the British interest."

Croghan spent the winter and spring of 1758 at Fort Herkimer on the German Flats, in command of scouting parties of the Six Nations, information of whose movements he reported to Sir William Johnson. He wrote from "Conjouerey" April 14th about preparations being made for a journey to Pennsylvania. Whether or not he made this journey does not appear from the extant records; but he wrote Governor Denny from Fort Johnson on June 30th, requesting that he acquaint Sir William Johnson as to the truth or falsity of a report that twenty Onondagas had been killed by a party of English to the southward. "He [Johnson] marched yesterday, to join General Abercromby [for the attack on Ticonderoga] and I follow him tomorrow with the other division of Indians. I expect, in the whole, there will be near 400, amongst whom there are some of all the Five Nations." General Johnson wrote Abercrombie July 5th from his "Camp in the Woods," within ten miles of Fort Edward: "I arrived here last night with near two hundred Indians of the Five Nations and others. Mr. Croghan and some of the Indian officers are within a day's march of me with about one hundred more, as I hear by letters from him. I hope they will be with me at Fort Edward this afternoon, and with you at the Lake [George] tomorrow."

Croghan was at Easton September 21st, from whence he wrote Johnson. He was arranging for a Council meeting with the Delawares and Six Nations. On the 26th, he wrote Secretary Richard Peters: "As the Indians has been allways drunk, Mr. Wiser nor myself could nott do any business with ye Indians. I suspect that Teedyuscung is kept drunk here on purpos, to serve some end; butt I hope, on ye Governor's perusing my letter, he will take such steps as will prevent such abuses on his Government. There must, in my opinion, be something very extroynery in vew, or else the Commrs. [of the Assembly] would

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neaver have ordered their Comeseray to give out so much liquer. . . . By all mains ye distribution of liquers should be taken out of Vernon hands. I have received a line from General Forbes; p'haps he is not well pleased with me. . . . You 'll excuse boath writing and peper, and guess at my maining, fer I have at this minnitt 20 drunken Indians about me. I shall be ruined if ye taps are nott stopt. Itt dose nott cost me less than £3 a day on ye Indians' extraguenty."

General Forbes at that time was very sick in Cumberland County. He had written Bouquet from Shippensburg, September 2d, that he had had a relapse; and that Mr. Coghlan (Croghan) would join the expedition against Fort Duquesne, "with Indians."

October 7th to 26th, Croghan, with the Governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the Pennsylvania Council, some members of the Assembly, a number of the Quakers—self-appointed peacemakers—and others, met about five hundred Indians of the Six Nations, Delawares, Shawnees, Mohicans, and other smaller tribes, in a great Council at Easton. Teedyuscung was present, but drunk nearly all the time. The Quakers charged Croghan with keeping him in that condition. Their account of the conferences, as preserved in a letter written or delivered to Charles Thomson by one of their number,[1] states that the place of meeting on October 8th was at Croghan's. "It affords some matter of speculation why Croghan, who is here in no public capacity [he represented Johnson], should be honored with a guard at his door. The reason of the Indians meeting at his house is more easily accounted for, as he treats them with liquor, and gives out that he himself is an Indian. . . . On Friday, October 13th, a Conference was held, at which the Governor spoke, and the Allegheny letter [brought by Frederick Post] was read. At the close of the Conference, one, *Nichos*, a Mohawk, made a speech—to disclaim Teedyuscung's authority. This *Nichos* is G. Croghan's father-in-law, and him 't is thought Croghan now makes use of to raise disturbance among the Indians." Another member of the Friendly Association of Quakers wrote at the same time: "I am fitting out two waggons, with about 5 or 600£ worth of strouds, blankets, match-coats, etc., which shall be sent to the General [Forbes], either to be sold or given away in such manner as may most effectually promote the public interest. . . . Our Friendly Association have, out of their fund, expended upwards of 2,000£, but the cost of these goods must be paid (if they are given away) out of the contributions of the Menonists and Swengfelders, who put about 1,500£ into my hands for these purposes."

Governor Denny wrote Johnson of the success of the Easton Conference, and of the valuable assistance of Mr. Croghan, as against "a restless and wretched faction."

[1] Thomson's *Alienation of the Delawares and Shawnees*, p. 178.

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General Forbes's army occupied the ruined site of Fort Duquesne on November 25th. Two days later, Croghan and Montour crossed the Allegheny and slept on its north bank, opposite the camp. Here they met a messenger from the Indians living at the mouth of Beaver Creek, inviting them to their town, and stating that other messengers had been sent to call their people' home from the Cuscuskoes to meet them there. They proceeded to Logstown the next day, in company with six Delawares; and at eleven o'clock on the morning of the 29th arrived at the Delaware town, a mile below the mouth of Beaver Creek (Shingas's Town). Here Croghan held a Council on December 1st, at which were present the Delawares and the Six Nations deputies he had sent from Easton in October. The Indians were conducted to the camp of the army by Croghan and Montour, and there met Colonel Bouquet in Council on the 4th and 5th of December, 1758.

Croghan and Montour were in Philadelphia together, and attended a Council, February 8, 1759, between Richard Peters and some chiefs of the Six Nations and Cherokees. Croghan also had a conference with Governor Denny about Indian affairs March 28th. On the 25th of May he wrote Captain Horatio Gates from Bedford that he had been there ten days, waiting for an escort to convoy him to Pittsburgh; and that he had sent Captain Montour ahead to collect all the Indians he could, to meet him on his arrival. The eight Provincial Commissioners for the Indian Trade, newly appointed by the Assembly, complained to the Governor in the beginning of July that "George Croghan has assumed a power of licensing such persons to trade with the Indians at Pittsburgh, as he thinks proper; and also to fix the prices goods shall be sold at, and of the skins and furs to be received in payment. . . . We are informed [by a letter from their agent at Pittsburgh dated June 22d] that Croghan has offered them [the Indians] 2s. per lb. more for beaver than we have directed our Agent to give."

From July 4th to 16th, Croghan and Colonel Hugh Mercer, with Captains William Trent, Thomas McKee, and Henry Montour, held a conference at Pittsburgh with some chiefs of the Six Nations, Shawnees, Delawares, and Wyandots. Croghan's *Journal* showed that since his arrival at Pittsburgh twelve hundred Indians had been fed and clothed.

General Stanwix reached Pittsburgh in the latter part of August, and work on Fort Pitt was begun September 10th, and continued through the following winter and spring. Croghan was occupied during much of this time in getting intelligence of the French movements, by means of his Indian spies. From October 24th to 26th a Council was held by Stanwix, Croghan, Trent, McKee, and Montour, with a number of Indian chiefs. On the 25th, the speaker for the Wyandots arose and said: "Brethren—I am glad to meet you in Council. Here are the Six

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Nations, Shawnees, Delawares, and Twightwees. *As we* [the Wyandots] *are the oldest Nation*,[1] I shall speak first, and they shall hear what I am going to say." On the 26th the Delaware speaker said: "We are met this day in Council in presence of our uncles, the Six Nations and the Wyandots, and our grandchildren, the Shawnees and Twightwees."

Croghan wrote to Richard Peters from Fort Pitt May 12, 1760, stating that he had had a conference with the Shawnees since General Stanwix left, and renewed the ancient treaty of friendship.

On July 6th, General Monckton, then at Fort Pitt, instructed Colonel Bouquet to march with one hundred Virginia militia and take possession of the French post at Presqu' Isle. Captain Croghan, with a few Indians, would attend him. The detachment left Fort Pitt on the 7th, and reached Presqu' Isle ten days later. Thomas Hutchins's Journal of this march is printed in the second volume of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*. Bouquet writes from Venango on the 13th, "Croghan goes to Custaloga's Town [Cassewago] with presents"; and, on the 14th "Croghan obliged to stay at Custaloga's Town, the Indians being all drunk, and not fit for business." Croghan returned to Fort Pitt before the 28th.

On the 12th of August, General Monckton, with George Croghan Thomas McKee, Thomas Hutchins, and Andrew Montour, held a conference at Fort Pitt with fifteen chiefs and three hundred and sixty-seven warriors of the Six Nations, Shawnees, Delawares, Twightwees, Wyandots, Ottawas, and Pottawattomies. The Council lasted until the 17th. Bouquet wrote Monckton from Presqu' Isle September 13th, remarking on "the little influence possessed by the manager at Pittsburgh over the Indians."

In October Croghan was sent by General Monckton to join Major Robert Rogers and his Rangers at Presqu' Isle, and proceed with them to Detroit. He left Fort Pitt on the 21st, at Venango joining Captain Campbell, who was on the march to Presqu' Isle with a detachment of the Royal American troops, and reaching that place on the 21st. Croghan set off in one of the boats for Detroit, November 4th, and arrived there with Rogers on the 29th. Here, during the succeeding week, he held several important conferences with the Indian tribes about that post. He left Detroit on his return, December 11th, proceeding homeward by way of Sandusky Bay, Mohican John's Village, and King Beaver's Town, to Fort Pitt, where he arrived on January 7, 1761.

Croghan wrote Captain William Trent and Alexander Lowrey from Fort Pitt, February 5th, that, having agreed with them on the price of goods to be sold to the Indians at Sandusky and Detroit, he hopes

[1] *Penna. Col. Rec.*, viii., 431, 433.

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they will sell at these prices, and be careful to maintain a good understanding with the Indians.

April 22, 1761, Bouquet wrote Monckton from Fort Pitt: "Croghan and Clapham wish to make a settlement on land acquired from the Indians, and asks orders thereupon." This application was doubtless approved by the General, for Croghan had a house built on this land, above Two Mile Run, in 1762. On May 15th Bouquet wrote again, that the "Indians have stolen a considerable number of horses. Horses intended to go to the saw-mill for boards were stolen out of the stable by Shawnees; one found shot; the others overtaken; but the Indians only laughed at messages sent by Croghan, and carried them off. . . . Croghan leaves for Niagara." July 24th, Bouquet writes Monckton: "Croghan proceeds to Detroit, to arrange with the Indians and fix on a spot for a post on the south side of the Lake. Sir William and Croghan will learn the true reasons of discontent among the northern Indians."

Croghan wrote Bouquet from King Beaver's Town on the Tuscarawas August 1st, while on his way to Detroit, that the Indians there "have been consoled for the death of Nickman by a few small presents, and he has ordered rum and flour to make a feast for the relations, that they may forget his death. The Indians from the different villages are to meet here, to proceed for the treaty in Pennsylvania."

In Johnson's diary, under date of August 27th, while on his way to Detroit he speaks of having met some French boats from that post, which had left there ten days before. "They told me Mr. Croghan had arrived at Detroit two days before they left it, with a few Shawnees, Delawares, etc." Croghan met him with horses, about six miles below the Detroit Fort, on September 3d, having come by way of Sandusky. They held councils with the Indians for several days, and distributed presents, leaving Detroit together on the 19th. Croghan and Johnson parted at Sandusky Bay, the former taking the land trail for Fort Pitt, and the latter proceeding eastward along the lake shore with his boats. Bouquet wrote Monckton from Fort Pitt October 5th, announcing Croghan's return, with the report of Sir William Johnson's complete success in his treaty with the Indians.

October 12, 1761, Croghan wrote Sir William Johnson, reporting that three hundred and thirty-eight prisoners had been given up at Fort Pitt by the Indians since June, 1759.

On October 25th, Croghan appointed Thomas Hutchins as Assistant Agent for Indian Affairs in the Western Division.

General Amherst wrote Bouquet from New York, January 16, 1762, that Croghan had gone with his Indian accounts to Sir William Johnson; that they were of prodigious amount; that he had granted a warrant on account of reasons given by Sir William; but orders for Indian presents

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must be sparing in the future. Croghan himself wrote Bouquet from Philadelphia on the 22d that he had just returned from New York.

In answer to the complaints made by Amherst of the great expenses of the Indian Department, Croghan wrote Bouquet March 27, 1762, explaining the nature of the expenditures, and the necessity of making presents to the Indians, as had been the custom of the English and French since the first settling of America. He has been ordered by Sir William Johnson to get all the prisoners among the Indians released, which can not be done without expense; and his visits to the distant posts cannot be made without a batteau and men, and wampum to make speeches, besides provisions, etc.

On April 3d, Croghan instructed his assistant, Thomas Hutchins, to proceed by way of Sandusky to Michillimackinac, La Baye, St. Joseph, Miamis, and Weyaugh, to examine into the state and behavior of the Indians near these posts, and to return through the Twightwee and Shawnese country. Hutchins's *Journal* of his travels on this errand is published in a later chapter.

The correspondence of Bouquet and Amherst during 1762 contains several references to Croghan's expenses for Indian affairs. On June 7th, Amherst states that he has sent a warrant for Croghan's accounts; on July 25th, he writes that Croghan's Indian accounts are very high, and to refuse all presents to the Indians until the prisoners are delivered; and on August 29th, that Croghan's Indian accounts have been referred to Sir William Johnson. Bouquet writes, October 26th, that Croghan has been instructed to conform to Sir William Johnson's orders.

Croghan wrote Johnson on May 10, 1762, announcing that Kinderunta and a party of eighty Six Nations warriors had returned from the South, bringing two Cherokee prisoners and eight scalps; that he (Croghan) has spent £100 out of his salary to satisfy these Indians, and would like to resign in the fall. His account for the half year is £317.

Johnson wrote Croghan five days later, requesting his presence at Easton on June 15th, when the baronet was to meet Teedyuscung and examine into his complaint about land frauds. This meeting took place at Easton in the latter part of June. The manuscript minutes of the conferences, in the Johnson papers, show that on June 22d Teedyuscung declared that he was unable to understand the proceedings of the day before, "and his pretense is supported insolently by Israel Pemberton, a Philadelphia Quaker, who threatens an appeal to England against the proceeding." What diplomacy was exercised by Johnson or Croghan in the matter does not appear from the record, but before the close of the Council Teedyuscung retracted his charges of fraud and forgery in land transactions, made against the Proprietaries by him at Easton six years before, at the instigation of Pemberton and some of his fellow Quakers.

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Croghan wrote Johnson from Philadelphia July 3d, that the Quakers claim that they have accommodated the land dispute with the Delawares, and that Johnson's report to the home Government is of no use; but that some are apprehensive that Pemberton, Fox, and Hughes have invited his Majesty's resentment, and expect the downfall of Quaker influence. The Quakers, he adds, are preparing a remonstrance against Johnson's course at Easton, denounce Councillor Marshe, and threaten Croghan. If the Indians come to Lancaster, he (Croghan) will be there to expose them and their king, Teedyuscung. Croghan wrote again on the 10th, enclosing a message sent by a committee, describing the mortification and division of the Quakers after the Easton investigation of the Indian claims.

On the 28th of June, 1762, Frederick Post set out from Tuscarawas, or Beaver's Town, on the Muskingum, for Lancaster, with a large number of Delaware, Twightwee, Wee, Wyandot, Kickapoo, and Shawnee chiefs and warriors, to meet Governor Hamilton in a Council, and treat for the delivery of prisoners by the Indians. Sir William Johnson wrote the Secretary in April that he could see no necessity for a conference with the Indians at that time; and it is possible that was the reason why Croghan took no public part in it. Or, possibly, he may have been afraid of being imprisoned for debt. His name does not even appear in the minutes of the meetings as being present. Besides the Western Indians, a large number of deputies attended from all of the Six Nations but the Mohawks, from the Wyoming and Minisink Delawares, Nanticokes, Conoys, and others. When Post and his party of Indians reached Fort Littleton on their eastward journey, Croghan came on the 18th of July and told them it would be dangerous for them to travel, as the court was then in session at Carlisle, and he desired Post to persuade the Indians to remain where they were until the Court had adjourned. They agreed to remain three days, but would not delay longer, and continued on to Lancaster, with Croghan in their company, where they arrived on the 8th of August.

Andrew Montour acted as one of the interpreters at the Lancaster Council, which lasted from August 17th to 28th. Croghan wrote Johnson from Bedford September 4th, reporting the failure of the Quakers at the Lancaster Council to retain control of the trading privilege at Fort Augusta and to obtain from the Six Nations a grant of land to the Delawares on the "Dillaware River"; proposing the appointment of "young [Alexander] McKee's" father (Captain Thomas McKee) as assistant deputy at Fort Augusta; and recounting a scandalous incident regarding Mr. Pemberton.

In a "return" of English prisoners delivered up at Fort Pitt and Fort Detroit by the Western Indians, made by Croghan to Bouquet

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at Fort Pitt, October 9th, the former writes: "Itt appears by my Journal that from the 9th of July, 1759, to the 9th of October, 1762, there has been four hundred and eleven prisoners delivered up (411), excluseff of thirty-one wh. has been sett att liberty by the Indians att their towns, and passed by hear in their way home (31), 442."

On the 9th of October, he wrote again to Johnson, from "Croghan Hall, near Fort Pitt," mentioning the Journal of Thomas Hutchins, just returned from the "tour over the Lakes" on which Croghan had despatched him six months before. Hutchins brought numerous complaints from all the tribes against General Amherst's policy of letting them have but little ammunition and no presents. November 10th, Croghan wrote from Bedford, giving some Indian intelligence. One month later he sent to Johnson, from Fort Pitt, a copy of the Journal kept by Alexander McKee during his residence among the Shawnees, which gave hints of plotting on the part of the Senecas, Delawares, and Shawnees, intelligence of a belt and hatchet sent to the Indians by the French in the Illinois country, complaints of the Indians over the withholding of ammunition by the English; and apprehensions of a general Indian war. On the same day (December 10th), he wrote two letters to Bouquet, who was then in Philadelphia. The first letter announced McKee's return from the Shawnees; stated that some Shawnees were on their way to Fort Pitt with their prisoners, and that McKee expects them all to be delivered up, as he has a better opinion of the Shawnees than of the Delawares; that the Indians confessed to having received the belt reported by McKee; it was from the French officer on the Illinois (Fort Chartres); they say that they had no intention to go to war, but it was time to defend themselves, as the English intend to make war on them, alleging the refusal to sell them powder, etc., as a proof of this; and that as soon as all the prisoners are delivered up, the war will begin; if war should break out, it would be general, as the Indians are jealous and never consider consequences; and it will not be long before there is a quarrel with them. In the second letter, Croghan desires to know the General's determination as to the expenses of the Indian Department, so that he may know whether to continue or resign; as he will not be continually begging for necessaries, and will not pay the expenses out of his own pocket.

Early in January, 1763, Croghan repeated his warnings of the bad disposition and hostile intentions of the Indians, and added, "but they are not yet united." He wrote Bouquet two letters on March 19th, in which, among other things, he said:

I am sorry that Colonel John Armstrong has not returned ye four Tracts [of land] run out for you last Fall, with ye Tract of ye Big

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Spring on Vinord Creek, which are all done. I have wrote him to return them as soon as possible. As to ye Tracts on Vinord Creek, you may depend upon it, I will have them run out next month, when I shall be at Bedford.

As to ye other affair, my Brother [Edward Ward] is now on ye spot with ye Indian, digging [for ore], ye produce of which I will send you on my arrival at Bedford, where I expect to be ye first of April.

As I shall not have ye pleasure of accompanying you down ye [Ohio] River, I think it my duty to give you my opinion of that tour, with respect to making any settlement. I dare say you will find that the French has not purchased any more land of the Indians than just what they have occupied, and that you will find ye Indians will not stand tame spectators and see settlements made in their country without first having some consideration given them for it; and I am of opinion the French will do everything in their power, privately, to give ye Indians a bad impression of us; so that your hands should be open with respect to presents. You should have at least fifty Indians from hence with you, of ye different nations, and such as is of consequence among these nations; with whom I will send young Mr. McKee, who is a modest young man, and one you can depend on as a good interpreter. . . .

Some time ago I wrote Sir William Johnson and let him know that if Sir Jeffrey Amhurst did not give me leave to go to England to solicit a restitution for ye great depredations committed on me by the King of France's subjects in ye beginning of ye War, that I would resign, which I expect will be ye case, as I am pretty certain Sir W. J. will give me leave to resign; as he must think there is no occasion for an Agent here on Sir Jeffrey Amhurst present plan.

Nothing would give me greater pleasure than to go down this River, as you are honoured with the command; but for two very weatey reasons, I can't think of it; first, my own affairs will oblige me to go to England as soon as possible; ye secondly is, that I am certain Sir Jeffrey Amhurst will not alow a sufisent quantity of presents to satisfye the great number of Indians; and before I would attempt to undertake ye negocieatory mators with a number of Indian nations who has never been acquainted with us, but allways under ye influences of the French, without I could do it with repetation to myself and ease to you, I will run ye resk of loosing everything I have depending in England, and content myself at ye tail of a plow, somewhere on ye frontier.

On April 23d, Croghan reported that three chiefs, with one hundred and twenty-two warriors, came into Fort Pitt to deliver five prisoners. Captain Ecuyer, Commandant at Fort Pitt in Bouquet's absence, wrote the latter on the same day: "The Indians depart at last to-morrow, very much dissatisfied, although I have done more for them than I should, perhaps; but one cannot free one's self from Croghan. He gave up to them because they would have eaten all our provisions; think, that during the last month Mr. Croghan has drawn 17,000 pounds, as much flour and beef; that makes one tremble. I use the skins which the Indians have given, to dress the five prisoners. . . . Mr. Croghan departs

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on the 25th for Bedford and Carlisle." On May 4th, Ecuyer wrote: "Mr. Croghan is at Bedford and proposes to go to Carlisle."

Within another month the storm which had been gathering on the Indian frontiers burst with great fury over the garrisons of St. Joseph, Michillimackinac, Detroit, Ouiatanon, Miami, Sandusky, Presqu' Isle, Le Bœuf, Venango, Fort Pitt, Ligonier, Schlosser, and Niagara. Fort Pitt was in a state of siege after May 29th. Croghan wrote Bouquet from Carlisle June 8th, that, as he predicted, the Delawares had all declared against the English; "I need say nothing now on ye subject, as it will not bear laffing at, as usual, by his——" He adds, that he would proceed to-morrow to Bedford, and would try to get an escort for the powder and lead up there [from Fort Loudoun]. He wrote again from Shippensburg on the 11th, stating that he had engaged a garrison of twenty-five men for Fort Lyttleton, to prevent its being taken; would go there personally, and if Amherst did not approve of his action and he had to pay the men himself, he would discharge the garrison at the end of the month; the only Indians concerned about Fort Pitt are the Delawares. On the 17th, 18th, and 20th, he writes Bouquet from Fort Bedford, saying that he believes Fort Pitt to be invested, but does not believe the Indians can long remain there; suggesting a plan to stop the war; and stating that the Delawares have been very insolent since the last treaty, and that he hopes "the Quakers may not find that their interfering with Indian affairs may have done more hurt . . . than any settlements that I or any other people have made there." Bouquet wrote Croghan from Carlisle July 4th, giving a summary of General Amherst's letter of June 25th, approving of Croghan's suggestions and of what he has done; and adding that "he [Bouquet] and Captain Basset are living in ease at Croghan's hotel."

Johnson wrote Amherst September 14th, sending the letter by Mr. Croghan, who "arrived here [Johnson Hall] a few days ago, in order to lay before me the necessity he is under of going to England." Croghan met Amherst in New York, and on the 27th wrote him, explaining some of his transactions which had been criticised, repelling an implied reflection on his conduct, and resigning his post in the Indian service. Amherst wrote Johnson four days afterwards, saying that he prevailed on Croghan to advise with Johnson before he took that step, "which he agreed to do, and he is set out for Bedford to attend on his duty." On the 4th of October Croghan wrote Johnson from Philadelphia, stating that he had taken passage on a ship for England, to sail December 1st, and hoped to visit Johnson Hall before that time. A week later he wrote Bouquet from Carlisle that he had sent in his resignation and would sail for England; and that for the past eighteen months no attention had been paid to his reports or opinions. Accordingly, we find

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him in Albany on November 24th, on his return from a visit to Johnson Hall. While he was there, Sir William Johnson wrote an important letter on Indian affairs to the Lords of Trade, dated November 18th, which Croghan undertook to carry to England with him. In this letter Johnson said: "The defection of the Ohio Indians rendering Mr. Croghan's residence amongst them for a time unnecessary, and his private affairs, as he informs me, requiring his immediate presence in England, leaving an assistant at Fort Pitt, I have committed this packet to his care; the rather, as his long residence in this Country, and his knowledge of the Indians, will enable him to answer any further questions necessary for your Lordship's better information. If Mr. Croghan does not care to continue longer in this Department, I must make choice of another deputy early in the Spring."

Croghan did not sail for England on December 1st, however, as he expected, for on the 15th and 18th of that month he wrote Johnson from Philadelphia in regard to the favorable character of Alexander McKee, and alluded to Andrew Montour's distressing circumstances, and his integrity and faithfulness. He also offered to exchange a stock of Indian goods which he had taken from Baynton & Wharton for some border land.

December 7th a meeting of Indian Traders and merchants who supplied them with goods was held at the Indian Queen Tavern in Lancaster (or Philadelphia). There were present Messrs. David Franks, Jeremiah Warder, Samuel Burge, George Croghan, John Coxe, Abraham Mitchell, William Trent, Robert Callender, Joseph Spear, Thomas McKee, Philip Boyle, and Samuel Wharton. George Croghan and Moses Franks were authorized to lay before the Lords of Trade or the King in Council, a statement of the Traders' losses by Indian depredations during the recent Pontiac War, and to solicit the aid of Thomas and Richard Penn, Generals Amherst, Monckton, and Gage, and the Earl of Halifax, in obtaining restitution for their losses. Croghan probably sailed for England in the latter part of December or the beginning of January, and reached there in February, 1764. He writes Johnson from London, February 24th, describing his shipwreck on the Norman coast, his reception in London by Lords Hillsboro and Halifax, the excitement in England over "Wilks and Liberty," and other matters in which the baronet was interested. He wrote again on March 10th, mentioning the English neglect of American affairs and declaring that he is sick of London and its vanities. On April 14th he writes of there being slight prospect that the Government will repair the losses of the Indian Traders, and again expresses his disgust with London's pride and pomp, and his desire to live on a little farm in America. A third letter, dated May 11th, speaks of the neglect of Indian affairs by the Lords of Trade, and of a projected visit to Ireland.

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Croghan's brother, Captain Edward Ward, who, as Ensign Ward, had surrendered the fort to the French at the Forks of Ohio in 1754, wrote Sir William Johnson from Carlisle May 2, 1764[1]:

May it pleas your Honour:

The accounts I have learnt from my Brother are, That the Ship he went home in was cast away on the coast of France; That there was no lives lost; and that all the money aboord was saved. This I have from one of the Owners of the Ship, who lives in Philadelphia.

But in his letter he seems to express concern and Surprise that he has not Received a line from one of the Owners of the Ship in London, nor from my Brother. From a sense I have of the many favours you have don my Brother, and your friendship for him, I do begg you will favor me with a line with respect to everything you may learn of him. A brother's love must plead my pardon, as it so neerly concerens one to heer from Him.

Yesterday, I received a letter from Lieut. Hutchins, from Fort Pitt, in five days, and he informs me that, a fue days ago, one, Hicks [a renegade and traitor], come into Fort Pitt from the Indians, who informs him, that for certain, My Cousin, Major Thomas Smallman, is prisnor with the Shanney's, at a place at the Ohio called the Mugguck [on the Pickaway Plains]; I would begg, as the greatest favor ever don my Brother or me, that you would pleas to send some of the Five Nations To make enquierry for my poor Cousin, and, if posable, for them to bring Him to you, or to some post where he may be safe out of their reach.[2]

From this Hicks's known attachment to the Indian life, and a dog that was seen, and some shotts that was hard after he come into the Fort, It is thought he come as a spie. This Hicks was taken in the beginning of the former war, and he is in fact an Indian, and acquainted with every of the Indians' Villany, and a greater Villain is not in the Indian nations.

Fue or no Indians have appeared on our Frunteers leatly.

This Government seems as if they would trust thier battles to be fought by the Indians, for we are not prepereing for the field; and if one may judge people, they assure Themselves that the five Nations will reduce the Offending Nations, and by that bring about a pece for them. It is strange that people that Has had so long an acquaintance with Indians, as they have had, should no so little of them as they do.

The Governments, from my first acquaintance with them and the Indians, which was in fifty-two, have ever had Forty affaires In thier Treaties with the Indians, and ever have endevoured to blacken Each Other to they Indians. I hope they never will have any more Treaties with Them, and I am sure from my small acquaintance in Indian affaires, That it will be very happy for his Majesty's subjects that they never more Have to do or say in Treaties. . . .

I hate this Government and it's quarrels, and wish my affaires were

[1] Original letter in possession of C. A. Hanna.

[2] Smallman was surrendered by the Shawnees to Bouquet at Muskingum November 9, 1764. *Pa. Col. Rec.*, ix., 223.

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so settled that I could leave it. I medle with non of thier quarrels, and live like one dropt amongst them. . . .

While in London, Colonel Croghan made the following affidavit, in the latter part of July, in connection with the complaints of the Six Nations against the Connecticut settlers at Wyoming. This document is to be found among the manuscripts of the Pennsylvania Historical Society (*Penna. Land Grants*, vols. 1681–1806, pp. 205–209), and has been cited by Mr. Harvey in his *History of Wilkes-Barre*. Its chief value in connection with our present subject is the information the paper gives about Croghan's early movements, and the fact it mentions of his having been made a Councillor of the Six Nations at Onondaga so early as 1746. According to Dr. Thwaites, Croghan was a distant relative of Sir William Johnson, and it was no doubt through his early assistance that the former succeeded in acquiring such a prominent and influential position among the Western Indians. Croghan's deposition reads in part as follows:

Geo: Croghan, of Cumberland County, in Pennsylvania, in North America, Deputy Agent for Indian Affairs under Sir Wm. Johnson, Bart., his Majestie's Superintendant of Indian Affairs for the Northern district of North America, now residing in the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, in the County of Middx., maketh Oath—That he hath been resident in North America for the Space of 23 years next before his arrivall in England, wch. was in the month of February last. And this Dept. saith, that upon his first arrivall in North America, he traded wth. the 6 Nations & the other Indian Tribes Dependt. upon & Tributary to them; and was in such favor and confidence wth. the Councils of the 6 Nations that he was, in the year 1746 (before he was appointed Deputy to Sir Wm. Johnson, wch. was not till the year 1756), Admitted by them as a Councillor into the Onondaga Councill, wch. is the Supreme Council of the 6 Nations & the severall Tribes dependt. thereon.

And this Dept. further saith, that he hath frequently attended at the Councills of the 6 Nations as a Councillor, & hath given his Opinion as such in the Severall Debates that have arisen there; and that he understands the Language of the 6 Nations, & of Severall other of the Indian Nations; and is acquainted with the manner in wch. the 6 Nations of Indians dispose of their Country & Tracts of Lands; and hath been present in Councill Severall times when Sales of Lands have been debated.

And this Dept. saith, that according to the best of this Deponent's Judgmt. & beliefe, the Comon and Usuall Method of making a purchase of the 6 Nations is for the Person or persons proposing to purchase, To signifye his or their Desire to purchase such a District of Country, to the Onondaga Councill, wch. proposall is made to them in Councill, when Sitting; who deliberate upon such proposall untill the next meeting of the said Onondaga Councill wth. the English, wch. is sometimes in 6 months & sometimes in 12 months after such

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proposall; when the said Councill Give an Answer to such proposall, & either agree to Sell upon the terms proposed, or propose other terms, or propose to sell a Lesser quantity, or refuse to sell at all. And if the terms are agreed upon, Deeds are forthwith prepared & explained by a Sworn Interpreter to the said Onondaga Councill, & executed by the said Councill then present.

And this Depont. further saith, that, according to the best of his Judgmt. and beliefe, no purchase of the 6 Nations is looked upon by them to be good and Valid wch. is not approved by the Onondaga Councill and conveyed by them, in Councill.

And this Depont. saith, that all the Tribes of the Delaware Indians are tributary to the 6 Nations, having been conquered by the 6 Nations; and that the 6 Nations claim the right to all the Soil or Country possessed by the Severall tribes of the said Delaware Indians, & the same are Constantly sold by the said Onondaga Councill, who always give a considerable part of the purchase money to the Delaware Indians.

And this Dept. saith, in the year 1762, this Dept. being wth. Sir Wm. Johnson, at Fort Johnson, in the Mohock River, a part of the Onondaga Councill (to the amount, as this Dept. believes, of 20), came to Sir Wm. Johnson, and in a conference wth. Sir Wm. Johnson, Complained that their Cousens, the Delawares, had informed them that a Number of White men from New England had settled on a part of their Country near Wyomen, on the North Branch of the River Susquehannah; and desired that Sir Wm. Johnson would write to the Governor, to know by what authority they had seated themselves in their Country, wch. they never had sold; or to that effect. . . .

While in London, Croghan also presented to the Lords of Trade an interesting Memorial on Indian Affairs in America, which is printed in the seventh volume of the *New York Colonial Documents*. He wrote Johnson August 4th, sending him some presents. William Darlington wrote Johnson from New York October 27th, informing him of Colonel Croghan's departure for Pennsylvania. He seems to have returned to America about that time; and was induced to continue as Deputy Indian Agent in the Western Department. On the 4th of December, he wrote from Philadelphia to his assistant, Alexander McKee, at Fort Pitt, regarding the change in Indian affairs, by which the agents were to be independent of any of the officers commanding at the posts; and instructed him to inform the Indians that he himself would be at Fort Pitt to open the trade and transact the affairs of his department with the tribes in that country; but that he need not tell any officers what instructions he had received. Bouquet, on his return march from the Muskingum, met the bearer of this letter at Fort Loudoun. He immediately wrote to Captain Murray at Fort Pitt, ordering him to open the letter sent by Croghan to McKee, with messages to the Indians, and if it contained such messages, it was not to be delivered. Murray evidently acquainted Bouquet by return express with the contents of the

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letter, for Bouquet wrote General Gage from Fort Loudoun on the 22d of the same month that the measures he recommends with regard to Pontiac are necessary, but owing to the change in the management of Indian affairs, he doubts if it would be proper for him to interfere; and, respecting the letter from Croghan to McKee, "the officers will be glad to have no further concern with Indian Affairs, but it is to be regretted that powers of such importance should be trusted to a man illiterate, impudent, and ill-bred, who subverts the purposes of government, and begins his functions by a ridiculous display of his own importance and an attempt to destroy the harmony which should subsist between the different branches of the service."

On January 5, 1765, Bouquet wrote Gage, recommending Croghan as the person most suitable to negotiate with the Western Indians for the British control of the French posts on the Wabash and in the Illinois country. The latter was suspected by his enemies in Philadelphia of being interested in a large shipment of Indian goods sent out by Baynton, Wharton & Co. from Philadelphia to Fort Pitt for sale to the Indians. The pack-horses which carried these goods were said to have been in the same train with the horses which conveyed some of the goods to be used by Croghan on his Illinois mission. They were all seized or destroyed by James Smith and his "Black Boys," disguised as Indians, at Sideling Hill (or near Bloody Run in Bedford County), in the early part of March.

Lieutenant Charles Grant, Commandant at Fort Loudoun, wrote to Bouquet of this occurrence March 9th, that the country people were greatly alarmed at the goods going up to Croghan for the Indians; about one hundred armed men followed the convoy to Great Cove, killed three horses, wounded three more, and burned sixty-three loads of goods; a party sent out from the fort had taken some prisoners, whom the country people tried to rescue, and they threatened to burn the fort. Gage wrote Governor Penn: "Some of the Traders whose goods were destroyed at Sidelong [Sideling Hill] have been here and represented that they were carrying the goods to Fort Pitt to supply Mr. Croghan with such quantities as he should have occasion for, in the service he is employed in; but by a letter from Mr. Croghan, of the 2d inst., from Fort Pitt, he informs me some of his goods were got up there, and the rest daily expected; and I see by a letter from Sir William Johnson, that Croghan had purchased the goods he expected to carry with him of Smallman & Field, at Philadelphia."

Croghan wrote Johnson that he had permitted the Traders' goods to be sent under one of his passes, with the idea of having them retained in the king's storehouse, in accordance with the new regulations from London, until trade was again opened up with the Indians; and he

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added that he proposed to resign from the service after his return from the Illinois mission.

On the 28th of February, Croghan reached Fort Pitt in company with Lieutenant Alexander Fraser, who was to accompany him down the Ohio to the Illinois country. He was obliged to remain there until the middle of May, in almost daily conferences with the Indian chiefs and delegations that kept coming in, some with prisoners, some with speeches, and all finally favorable to a peace with the English.

Croghan was sent by Gage to the Illinois for the purpose of making peace with the Indians and opening up the country to British control and trade. Lieutenant Fraser, with La Gauterais, Maisonville, and another, went in advance of Croghan, but on reaching Fort Chartres, Fraser was threatened by the Indians, and fled to New Orleans.[1] Leaving Fort Pitt on May 15th, with two large batteaux, in company with Major Thomas Smallman, the Trader, a few other white men, and some deputies of the Senecas, Shawnees, and Delawares, Croghan travelled down the Ohio River to a point six miles below the mouth of the Wabash, holding conferences with the Indians at different places along the route, some of which are mentioned in other chapters of this volume.

From May 24th to 27th, he remained at the mouth of the Scioto. On the 26th "several of the Shawnees came there and brought with them seven French Traders (in consequence of the message I sent them from Hochockon, or Bottle Creek) which they delivered to me, those being all that resided in their villages; and told me there was just six more living with the Delawares; that on their return to their Towns they would go to the Delawares and get them to send those French Traders home, and told me they were determined to do everything in their power to convince me of their sincerity and good disposition to preserve a peace."

On the 6th of June the party reached the mouth of the Wabash, where they found a breastwork, probably thrown up by Indians, and so they proceeded six miles farther down and encamped. Here they remained for two days. Croghan's *Journal* for the 8th reads as follows:

"At day-break we were attacked by a party of Indians, consisting of eighty warriors of the Kiccapoos and Musquattimes [Mascoutins], who killed two of my men and three Indians, wounded myself and all the rest of my party, except two white men and one Indian; then made myself and all the white men prisoners, plundering us of everything we had. A deputy of the Shawnees who was shot through the thigh, having concealed himself in the woods for a few minutes after he was wounded —not knowing but they were Southern Indians, who are always at war

[1] See his letter in *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Colls.*, x., 216.

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with the northward Indians—after discovering what nation they were, came up to them and made a very bold speech, telling them that the whole northward Indians would join in taking revenge for the insult and murder of their people. This alarmed those savages very much, who began excusing themselves, saying their Fathers, the French, had spirited them up, telling them that the Indians were coming with a body of Southern Indians to take their country from them; that it was this that induced them to commit this outrage. After dividing the plunder, (they left great part of the heaviest effects behind, not being able to carry them), they set off with us to their village at Ouattonon, in a great hurry, being in dread of pursuit from a large party of Indians they suspected were coming after me. Our course was through a thick, woody country, crossing a great many swamps, morasses, and beaver-ponds. We travelled this day about forty-two miles.

[Croghan estimated that the party travelled about one hundred and seventy-one miles from the 9th to the 15th.]

"15th. We set out very early, and about one o'clock came to the Ouabache, within six or seven miles of Port [misprint for Post or Fort] Vincent [Vincennes]. On my arrival there I found a village of about eighty or ninety French families settled on the east side of the River, being one of the finest situations that can be found. . . . The French inhabitants hereabouts are an idle, lazy people, a parcel of renegadoes from Canada, and are much worse than the Indians. They took a secret pleasure at our misfortunes, and the moment we arrived, they came to the Indians, exchanging trifles for our valuable plunder. As the savages took from me a considerable quantity of gold and silver in specie, the French Traders extorted ten half-johannes [a johannies was a Portuguese coin, worth over nine dollars], from them for one pound of vermillion. Here is likewise an Indian village of the Pyankeshaws, who were much displeased with the party that took me, telling them that "our and your chiefs are gone to make peace, and you have begun a war, for which our women and children will have reason to cry. . . ."

[From the 17th to the 23d the Indians with their prisoners travelled north, crossing the Vermillion River near a Pyankeshaw Village.]

"23d. . . . In the afternoon came into a very large bottom on the Ouabache, within six miles of Ouicatanon [Ouiatanon, at the mouth of the Wea River, on the north bank of the Wabash, four miles below the present city of Lafayette, Ind.]; here I met several chiefs of the Kickapos and Musquattimes, who spoke to their young men who had taken us, and reprimanded them severely for what they had done to me, after which they returned with us to their village and delivered us all to their chiefs. . . . At our arrival at this post, several of the Wawcottonans (or Ouicatonans) with whom I had formerly been acquainted

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[see chapter on Pickawillany], came to visit me, and seemed greatly concerned at what had happened. . . .

"July 1st. A Frenchman arrived from the Ilinois with a Pipe and Speech from thence to the Kickapoos and Musquattamies, to have me burnt; this Speech was said to be sent from a Shawanese Indn. who resides at the Ilinois, and has been during the War and is much attached to the French interest. As soon as this Speech was delivered to the Indians by the French, the Indians informed me of it in Council, and expressed their great concern for what had already happened, and told me they then sett me and my people at liberty. . . .

"From 4th to the 8th, I had several conferences with the Wawcotonans, Pyankeeshas, Kickapoos, and Musquatamies, in which conferences I was lucky enough to reconcile those nations to his Majesties interest and obtain their consent and approbation to take possession of any Posts in their country which the French formerly possessed. . . .

"July 13th. The Chiefs of the Twightwees came to me from the Miamis and renewed their antient friendship with His Majesty and all his subjects in America, and confirmed it with a Pipe.

"18th. I set off for the Ilinois with the Chiefs of all those nations; when by the way we met with Pondiac,[1] together with the deputies of the Six Nations, Delawares, and Shawanese, which accompanied Mr. Frazier and myself down the Ohio, and also deputies with speeches from the four nations living in the Ilinois country to me and the Six Nations, Delawares, and Shawanese; on which we returned to Ouiatonon and there held another conference, in which I settled all matters with the Ilinois Indians—Pondiac and they agreeing to everything the other nations had done, all which they confirmed by Pipes and Belts. . . .

[On the 25th Croghan and his party set out for the Miami Village on the site of the present Fort Wayne, where they arrived August 1st.]

"Within a mile of the Twightwee Village I was met by the chiefs of that nation, who received us very kindly. The most part of these Indians knew me, and conducted me to their village, where they immediately hoisted an English flag that I had formerly given them at Fort Pitt."

On August 6th the party started down the Maumee River in a canoe, for Detroit, where they arrived on the 17th; and remained until the 26th of September; Croghan returning to New York by way of Niagara. On November 16th Sir William Johnson wrote the Lords of Trade regarding Croghan: "A few days ago he arrived here, and delivered me his Journal and Transactions, from which I have selected the principal parts, which I now enclose to your Lordships. The whole

[1] This meeting took place in what is now Edgar County, Illinois. A monument and tablet mark the spot.

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of his Journal is long and not yet collected, because, after he was made a prisoner and lost his baggage, &ca. he was necessitated to write it on scraps of paper, procured with difficulty at Post Vincent, and that in a disguised character, to prevent its being understood by the French in case, through any disaster, he might again be plundered."

Johnson wrote Baynton, Wharton & Morgan, of Philadelphia, January 30, 1766, regarding a remittance of money he was making by Mr. Croghan. The latter wrote Johnson from New York, February 14th, mentioning losses he had suffered by advancing sums for the Indian service. On the 10th and 26th of March he writes from Philadelphia of Hugh Crawford, who is to conduct Pontiac to Oswego, and of his (Croghan's) proposed return to the Illinois country. Johnson wrote the Lords of Trade on the 22d of the same month concerning Mr. Croghan's intended journey to the Illinois. On May 1st, Croghan wrote General Gage from Philadelphia about the non-payment for Indian goods bought by him of Baynton, Wharton & Morgan, on instructions from Gage, and tendered his resignation of office. On the 13th, he made up and signed in Cumberland County a sworn account of his losses by the Indians in 1763. The amount was stated by Croghan as £4,500, for goods, horses, cattle, and hogs, taken by the Indians from his house on Ohio near Fort Pitt, and his house at the "Old Town" (Sewickly Old Town, where Colonel Clapham had been killed).

Croghan's *Journal* at Fort Pitt for May 22d and 24th, and his letter to Gage of the 26th, give an account of conferences with some chiefs of the Six Nations, Delawares, and Hurons, about murders of the Indians by the frontier settlers, and the unauthorized extension of settlements west of the Great Mountains. Croghan said to Gage, "If some effectual measures are not speedily taken to remove those people settled on Redstone Creek till a boundary can be properly settled, as proposed, and the Governors pursue vigorous measures to deter the frontier inhabitants from murthering Indians which pass to and from war against their natural enemies [the Cherokees and Catawbas], the consequences may be dreadful, and we involved in all the calamities of another general war."

Darlington says that it was in this month that Croghan made a settlement on the south bank of the Allegheny River, four miles above Fort Pitt, on a tract of land which he claimed had been conveyed to him by the Mingo chiefs at Logstown in 1749. The Six Nations gave him a deed to 40,000 acres of this land at Fort Stanwix in 1768, 1352 acres of which was afterwards (in June, 1769) surveyed to him. This land was opposite the mouth of Pine Creek, and across the river from the White Mingo's Castle, the latter marked on a plat of the survey as being on the east side of Pine Creek, near its mouth. As already pointed out,

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Croghan had really settled on this land many years before. It will be recalled that Croghan and Trent had a storehouse at the mouth of Pine Creek, on the *north* side of the Allegheny, in 1753 and 1754. September 23, 1762, Croghan wrote to Bouquet, describing the limits of the land at the Forks of the Ohio which the Indians had given him, which "begins att ye Narrows *above my house*, and down ye River to ye Two Mile Run, and up ye Run to the heads thereof."

On June 16, 1766, Croghan drew a draft on Johnson, dated at Fort Pitt, in favor of Baynton, Wharton & Morgan, for £2321, 9*s*., 8*d*. This was probably in payment for goods purchased, to be given to the Illinois and other western Indians whom he was about to visit at Fort Chartres.

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CHAPTER II

GEORGE CROGHAN, THE KING OF THE TRADERS (*Continued*)

IN September, 1765, Captain Thomas Stirling, with a company of the 42d Highlanders (the "Black Watch" Regiment), had started down the Ohio from Fort Pitt in batteaux, to take possession of Fort Chartres. The French Commandant lowered his flag on October 10th, and the English flag was raised by Stirling.[1] Two months later Major Robert Farmer started from Mobile with a detachment of the 34th Regiment, ascended the Mississippi, relieved Captain Stirling, and became Commandant of the Illinois country. In March of the following year John Jennings, Captain William Long, Major Thomas Smallman, Joshua Moore, William Davenport, and John Finley, floated down the Ohio from Fort Pitt, with five batteaux laden with goods for Baynton, Wharton & Morgan's Indian trade. They reached Fort Chartres on April 6th.[2]

If Croghan kept a Journal of his 1766 journey, and he probably did, it has not been preserved. On this voyage he not only visited Fort Chartres on the Mississippi, but later continued down that river to New Orleans, and thence returned to New York by sea. General Gage, Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in America, had written him instructions[3] from New York, April 16th, in relation to the steps to be taken by Croghan on his mission to conciliate the Indians, as follows:

To Mr. George Croghan, Deputy to Sir William Johnson, Bart., His Majesty's Sole Agent & Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Northern Department:—

You are to proceed as soon as practicable after the receipt of this with the presents for the Indians You shall have purchased at Philadelphia, to Fort Pitt, where a Boat and provisions will be supplied you, from whence you will pursue your Rout to Fort Chartres in the Ilinois Country.

Before your departure from Fort Pitt you will transmit me an exact List of the quantity of merchandize, Silver Ware, Wampum, &ca., &ca.,

[1] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, x., 1161.

[2] See Jennings's Journal, in *Pa. Mag.*, xxxi., 145.

[3] Original in possession of C. A. Hanna.

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that you take with you for to Conciliate the Affections of the Indians on the Mississippi; and you will follow the mode before prescribed to you in the distribution thereof, by delivering them in the presence of the Commanding Officers of the several Posts where your presence may be required, and obtaining from them Certificates of the delivery of the Several Articles, which you will transmit to me, as accounting for the same.

On your arrival at Fort Chartres, you will communicate to the Commanding Officer of the 34th Regiment there my instructions to you, as likewise give him a List of the presents in your Charge, and consult and Act in Concert with him relative to the treatment to be held toward the Savages, of whom you will make it your particular business to gain every Intelligence relative to their Numbers, their Trade, and Disposition towards the English.

You will pay attention to what I before mentioned to you relative to the Indians being persuaded by any ill-disposed people to lay any claims to the Lands, either in the Environs of Fort Chartres, or Kaskaskias, and Ohio River. These Lands, I am persuaded, were never theirs; they followed the French there, and sat down upon them for sake of being protected by the French from the Incursions of their Enemies, who had drove them from their own Country, and they never claimed or Received from the French any acknowledgment from them. You will therefore reconcile them, either to our Erecting Forts (if they shall be found necessary) or making Establishments upon any of these Lands, and Check in them any expectation of their ever being bought from them. You will likewise be pleased to Enquire into the conduct of Mr. Sinnott and La Gauterais, during their residence at the Ilinois, and upon what accot. and for what reasons the former was induced to fly away from it with so much precipitation.

I can't recommend too strongly to you to Act with the greatest Occonomy possible in your departments, without disgusting or driving away the Indians. You know the large Sums that have been already expended on this and on the other side to procure a safe passage to the Troops, and this matter being now Effected, the Expences will be expected to be near at an end.

In the matters pointed out to you, as well as everything else that may occur Regarding his Majesty's service in the Department entrusted to you, You will give me regular and constant information, advising me from time to time of every thing you shall think worthy of Observation, keeping always an attentive Eye to the proceedings of our Oposite Neighbors, who may be but too well inclined to prejudice us in the Eyes of the Indians, and to incite them to molest and disturb us.

Given under my Hand at Head Quarters, New York, April 16th, 1766.

(Duplicate or Copy.) THOS. GAGE.

Croghan left Fort Pitt June 18th, in company with Captain Harry Gordon, Ensign Thomas Hutchins (afterwards Geographer-General for the United Colonies), George Morgan, of Baynton, Wharton & Morgan, of Philadelphia, the largest firm then in the Indian trade, a few other white men, and a large number of Six Nations, Shawnee, and

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Delaware Indians.[1] On the 6th of July, Croghan wrote Gage from the mouth of the Scioto: "I have been obliged to give those Indians [Shawnees] some presents, and to gratify them by sending a Trader with a few goods to their Town for the present; as they complained of the distance to Fort Pitt in transporting their peltry, and are not suffering any French Traders to come amongst them."

The party reached the mouth of the Ohio on August 7th, and Fort Chartres on the 20th.

While Croghan's Journal of this expedition has not come down to us, so far as known, another Journal of the voyage has been preserved, which was kept by Captain Harry Gordon. A manuscript copy of this Journal is to be found among the Hutchins Manuscripts, in the Library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. Thomas Pownall, in his *Topographical Description* (London, 1776), published an abridged and inaccurate version of that portion of the Journal describing the trip to Fort Chartres. This version is now exceedingly rare, and practically inaccessible outside of a few of our largest libraries. The original Journal, of which the following is a transcript, also describes the voyage from Fort Chartres, down the Mississippi, to New Orleans, and beyond. It reads as follows:

"Having received His Excellency, the Commander in Cheif's, Orders and Instructions the 9th. of May, I proceeded to Philadelphia with Ensign Hutchins, Assist. Engineer, the 13 of same Mon[th]. Having purchased at that Place the necessary Store[s] for our further Journey and hired Carriage for them to Fort Pitt, we left Philadelphia the 23d, and got [to] the Ohio the 14th. June, having been delayed by Sickn[ess] several Days on the Road; of which I acquainted Mr. Croghan, Depy. Indian Agent, by Express, as I had Orders to accompany Him.

"I found the Road over the Allegheny Mountains extremely bad, and will be most probably impassable for Carriages by next Summer.

"The Fort at Ligonier, near the western Foot of the Mountains, is much Shattered, by the Timbers and Stockades being almost rotten. The Country near the Fort is very fine, healthy, and Soil rich, producing plentifully all Kinds of Grain, Hemp, or Flax. There are some Inhabitants now, and many more would assemble there was any Right of Possession or Property secured to them.

"I described to the Commander in Cheif the Condition of Fort Pitt by Letter 16th. of June. The 18th. Mr. Croghan having finished his Business with the Indians, the Battoes being fitted, and having engaged the sufficient Number of Battoemen, we embarked on the Ohio at 1 P.M.

[1] See Captain John Montressor's Journal in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xiv., 380. Montressor says there were one hundred Six Nation Indians with the party.

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By the Rains that fell this and the preceeding Day, the River Ohio had risen between 2 and three Feet, so That the largest Battoes of the Merchants [Baynton, Wharton & Morgan], that were sent under our Escort, which consisted of Indians, never touched, altho 7 Tons Burthen.

"The 19th we arrived at the Mingo Town, which by our Reckoning is 71 Miles below Fort Pitt. The Country between broken with very high Ridges; the Valleys narrow, and the Course of the River plunged from many high Grounds which compose its Banks. At This Village, Indian Business detained Us A Day, but Altho the Rains abated the 19th in the Morning, the River rose for several Days; and run so rapid as to carry us with moderate rowing from 6 to 7 Miles P. Hour.

"The 23rd, we came to the Mouth of the Muskingum before Noon, observed and found the Lat: to be 39° 19′. The Muskingum is a large River, 250 Yards wide at its confluence with the Ohio, it is said to be navigable 150 Miles upwards for Battoes, and runs thro a pleasant Country, as that near its Junction appeared to be. Many small Creeks and Streams run into the Main River, a Mark of the Lands near it being plentifully watered. Our Indians killed several Buffaloe between the Mingo Town and the Muskingum. We first met with a herd of this Kind of Animal about 100 Miles below Fort Pitt, but they are not so common untill we pass the Sioto.

"At This Place [Scioto] we arrived the 29th June, 366 Miles below Fort Pitt. The Navigation we found uninterrupted to our largest Battoes. The Flood indeed was with us, but at any Time there will be no Obstacle from the Mingo Town, which is 71 Miles from Fort Pitt, nor much from the Big Beaver Creek.

"The River Ohio, from 50 M. above Muskingum to Sioto is most beautifull, a number of Islands are to be seen of different Sizes, but all covered with the tallest of Timber. The long Reaches, among which is one of 16 Miles and a ½, inclosed with the finest Trees of different Kinds, of various Verdures, and Leaves of the largest Sorts, afford a noble and enchanting Prospect. The Stillness of the Current and a calm Sunshine put a Face on the Water from which was reflected the most beautifull Objects of simple Nature that I ever beheld. The glorious Vista was terminated by two small sugar Loaf Hills, of an easy Ascent, from which can be discovered all this magnificent Variety. The Rivers Hockhoking and Canawha fall in to the Ohio in this Space, besides others of a smaller Size. Up the big Canawha the northern Indians penetrate into the Cherokee Nations, and is a large fine stream by Report, navigable 100 Miles towards the Southward. The Country is every where pleasant. In the Bends of the river's Course, are large, level Spots of the richest Land; and on the whole is remarkably healthy, by the Accounts of Traders who have been some Time with the Indians hunting in those Parts.

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One Remark of this Nature may serve for the whole Tract of the Globe comprehended between the western Skirts of the Allegheny Mountains, beginning at the Post of Ligonier, thence bearing S. Westerly to the Distance of 500 Miles opposite the Ohio Falls, then crossing them Northerly to the Heads of the Rivers that empty into the Ohio—thence East along the Ridg[e] that separates the Lakes and Ohio Streams, to French Creek, which is opposite the Post of Ligonier northerly—It may be from proper Knowledge affirmed, that it is the healthiest (as no sort of chronicle Disorder ever prevails on it), most pleasant, and most commodious Spot of the Earth known to European People (supposing a State of Nature).

"We remained near the Sioto untill the 8th July; observed and found the Lat 38° [22′ scratched out]. The greatest Part of the Shawnese Nation were assembled here, at the Desire of Mr. Croghan. This Nation is composed of a few, but choice Men. Their Influence over the Ouabache Indians is great, which, joined to their Situation and other Circumstance, make them an Object worthy our Attention. Matters being setled with them (altho' with Difficulty), we pursued our Route the 8th July.

"The 16 we encamped opposite the great Lick, and next Day I went with a Party of Indians and Battoemen to view this much talk'd of place. The beaten Roads from all Quarters to it easily conducted us; they resemble those to an inland Village where Cattle go to and fro a large common. The Pasturage near it seems of the finest Kind, mix'd with Grass and Herbage, and well watered. On our Arrival at the Lick, which is 5 Miles distance S. of the River, we discovered laying ab[t] many large Bones, some of which the exact Patterns of Elephants Tusks, and others of different Parts of a large Animal. The Extent of the mudy Part of the Lick is ¾ of an Acre. This mud, being of a Salt Quality, is greedily lick'd by Buffaloe, Elk, and Deer, who come from distant Parts, in great Numbers, for this Purpose. We pick'd up several of the Bones, some out of the Mud, others off the firm Ground, and returned; proceeded next Day and arrived at the Falls 19th July.

"The Ohio continues to be narrow the whole Distance from Fort Pitt to within 100 Miles of the Falls. Its Breadth seldom exceeds 500 Yards, and is confined by rising Grounds, which causes many Windings, altho the Reaches are sometimes from 2 to 4 Mile long. The longest of them and most beautifull, are (as has been said) above Sioto. The River, 100 Miles above the Falls, widens to 700 Yds. in many Places. A number of Islands appear, the Grounds dimenish generally in Height, and the Country is not so much broken; some few of the Banks are overflowed in high Freshes, but this is but seldom, and there is hardly any Place, from Fort Pitt to the Falls, where a good Road may not be made

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along the Banks, and Horses be employed in drawing up Bilanders against the Stream, which is gentle, if no rain Flood is in the River. The Height of the Banks permits their being every where inhabited, nor do they seem Subjected to crumble much away. The little and big Mineami Rivers fall in below the Sioto, on the N. Side, and The Licking Creek and Kentucke on the S. side. There are many good Encampments on the Islands and a very remarkable and safe one opposite the Big [Bone] Lick.

"The Flood that accompanied us many Days, left us at Sioto, and we found the Water at the Falls low. The Falls ought not to be called so, as the Stream on the North Side has no Sudden Pitch, but only runs rapid over the Ledge of a flat Limestone Rock, which the Author of Nature has put there to keep up the Waters of the higher Ohio; and to be the Cause of that beautifull Stillness of the River's Course above it. That this bed or Dam should not wear, it is made almost flat and Smooth, to resist less the current, which would sooner get the better of greater Resistances, but as it is still subject to wear, there is made enough of it, being two Miles wide, and its Length into the Country on each Side, as covered with Soil, unknown. Mr. [George] Morgan unloaded one third, and with the assistance of the Indians who knew the Channel best and were usefull and willing, got his Boats safe down and raised on the N. side. The carrying Place is 3 Qrtrs. of a Mile on this Side, and half as much on the S. E. This last is safer for those that are unacquainted, but more Tedious, as during Part of the Summer and fall they must drag their Boats over the flat Rock. Had we continued with the Flood we should have had no carrying at all. The Company's [Baynton, Wharton & Morgan's] Boats that passed in April [John Jennings's party], were not sensible of any Falls, neither knew the Place where they are. In the course of Communication a Serj't's Post will be necessary and usefull here. The Situation of it will be mark'd on the Plan. The Water was reckoned low at the Falls. It could not be other wise, as since the Rain that fell at Fort Pitt when we set out, we have had only two small Gusts of abt. an Hour's Continuance each. The Heats of the Day have been by no Means intolerable, and the Coolness of the Nights have required a thick Blanket for covering in our Tents. Notwithstand'g of our Distance from the Fort being 682 Miles, our Lat. is not much Southerly. At the Falls we make it 38° 8′. Another Observation before I leave this Place, which is, that the Westerly and S. W. Winds generally blow up the River, And will assist that Navigation. Several Pieces of Spar and Oar were brought in by our Indians while we remained here.

"We left The Falls the 23rd and encampt the 31st on a large Island opposite the Mouth of the Wabash, which we make 317½ Miles below the Falls. From the Falls to about half this Distance the Country is

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very hilly, the Course of the River very winding and narrow, and but very few Spots of level Land on the Sides of the River. The Hills are mostly Stoney and Steep, but from the great Herds of Buffaloe we observed on the beaches of the Islands and River, into which they come for Air and Coolness in the midle of the Day, it may be imagined good Pasturage is not very distant. Eight hundred and thirty-seven Miles below Fort Pitt, we leave the ridgy ground behind, the Country grows flat, and the River, whose Bed widens, is often divided by Islands. The Navigation is good from the Falls, but where the low Country begins, Attention must be had to keep the principall Chanel, which is in general to the Right, coming down.

"The Wabash is markt by a large Island, round which Boats may go most Times of the Year. The End of the Fork of the two Rivers is narrow and overflowed: 11½ Miles upwards it is higher Ground. The Party of Indians we had two Days before sent to view the Country, joined us, and reported they could only discover Tracts of some small hunting or War Parties, but none of any Number together—The Herds of Buffaloe are hereabouts extraordinary large and frequent to be seen.

"The River Wabash at its Confluence is 306 Yards wide, and issues in with a considerable Quantity of Water of a muddy kind—It is navigable between 3 and 400 Miles upward, but should be used by small Boats, as those of the Company's sent up it were obliged to be lightened in order to proceed. Indeed, the Dryness of the Weather had caused a lowness of Water in both Rivers. Observed the Lat. at Wabash, 37° 41′—The Country between the Course of this River and that of the Mississippi is in general Flat, open, and of a Rich, luxuriant Soil. That on the Banks of the Ohio is level and in many Places overflowed hereabouts.

"The 2nd, we left The Wabash in the Evening. Next Morning we halted near the Saline, or Salt Run, Of which any Quantity of good Salt may be made. From this Place the Deputies from the northern Nations were sent across the Country by Mr. Croghan to the Illinois, to acquaint the Commandant and Indians' People there of our Arrival in those Parts.

"The 6th, in the Morning, we halted at Fort Massiac, formerly a French Post, 120 miles below the Mouth of the Wabash, and 11 below that of the Cherokee River. The Country, 25 Miles from the Wabash, begins again to be Mountainous, being the N. W. End of the Appalachian Mountains, which entirely terminate a small Distance from the River, northerly. They are here between 50 and 60 Miles across, and are scarpt, rocky Precipices. Below them no more high Lands are to be seen to W^rd. as far as those that border the Mexican Provinces.

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"The Reason of the French's sending a Garrison to this Place was, to be a check on the Cherokee Parties that came down the River of that Name, which is navigable for Canoes From their upper Towns, and who harassed extremely the French Traders intending to go among the Wabash and Shawnese Nations. The situation of this Fort is a good one, jetting with a Point a little into the River, the Reach of which up and down it discovers to a considerable Distance. A Garrison here will protect the Traders that come down the Ohio, untill they have Accounts from the Illinois. It will prevent those of the French going up the Ohio or among the Wabash Indians. Hunters from this Post may be sent amongst the Buffaloe, any Quantity of whose Beef they can procure in proper Season, and the Salt may be got from the above-mentioned Saline, at an easy Rate, to cure it for the Use of the Troops at the Illinois and the other Posts on the Mississippi. The Situation is a good one, no where commanded from, nor can the Retreat of the Garrison (a Consideration in the Indian Countries) ever be cut off; The River being, from the Entrance of that called the Cherokee, from 7 to 800 Yds wide. It will, in a political Light, hold the Ballance between the Cherokee and Wabash Indians, as it favors the Entrance of the former, across the Ohio, into the later's Country, and covers their Retreat from it. There is no proper Spot for a Post nearer The Cherokee River above, or the Mississippi below, but This, as the Grounds on the Banks of the Ohio begin to be very low. The Current of the River towards the Mississippi is very still and may be easily ascended if affairs are any Way doubtfull at or near the Illinois.

"7th, We got to ye Fork of the Ohio in Lat. 36° 43′, about 40 Miles below Massiac. We took a survey of the River in coming down. Our Bearings and Distance, from the Method we imagined and carefully pursued, have a considerable Right to be exact, and have been corrected with Observations on the Lat. that are to be depended on. The gentle Ohio is push'd back by the impetuous Stream of the Mississippi, whose muddy, white Water is to be seen above 200 yds. up the former. We examined the Ground for several Miles within the Fork. It is an Aggregation of Mud and Dirt, interspersed wth Marsh and some Ponds of Water, and is in high Times of the Mississippi overflowed; which is the Case with the other Sides of both Rivers.

"9th & 10th, repaired the Boats, and fitted them strongly with every Thing in our Power, to encounter the Stream of the Mississippi, which we thought hardly possible, having been so long used to the much gentler One of the Pleasant Ohio.

"11th Augt. having been joined by a Party of the 34 Regt. from F. Chartres, we began to ascend the Mississippi, whose rapid Stream has broke through the Country, and divided it every-

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where into a Number of Islands. The low Lands on each Side continue 8 Leagues upwards, when it becomes broken, and small Ridges appear for the Rest of the Way to Kaskaskias. There are many Islands in this Distance, some of which entirely of Rock. That called by the French, *La Tour*, which it much resembles, is 11 Leagues below the Kasksakias River. The Distance of This River from the Forks is 31 Leagues.

"The Mississippi's principal Stream is from 5 to 700 yds. wide, but it is scarcely ever to be seen together, and some small parts are above a mile distant from one another; the Principall Stream likewise often shifts, & [the deep Chanels also, which makes the Pilotage of the River extremely difficult; & Boats often get a Ground in ascending, chiefly when endeavoring to avoid the rapid Current.

"The 19th, we got in the morning to the small River of the Kaskaskias, 80 Yds. wide at the Mouth, but Deep, 5 Feet, which it carries up to the village, and is said to be navigable 50 Leagues further A Detachment of 1 Offr. & 30 Men are Quartered here, where we arrived the same Day, distant from the Mouth of the River of that Name 2 Leagues. The high Grounds mentioned skirt along the South Side of the Kaskaskias River, come opposite the Village, and continue along Northerly, in a Chain nearly paralel to the East Bank of the Mississippi, at the Distance from it of 2 to 3 Miles. This Space between is level, mostly open, & of the richest Kinds of Soil, in which the Inhabitants of the Illinois raise their Grain, &ca.

"The Kaskaskias Village is on the Plain. It consists of 80 Houses, well built, mostly of stone, with Gardens and large Lots to each, whose Inhabitants live generally well, & some of them have large Stocks of Cattle & Hogs. There was a new Fort begun by the French, of Logs, opposite the Village on the rising Ground, t' other side of the River, but entirely commanding it. Ensign Hutchins I sent by Water to compleat the Survey to Fort Chartres. That I might see the Country, I went by Land.

"The Road to Fort Chartres is along the Plain, passing in some Places near the Chain of rocky Heights above mentioned. The Distance to the Fort is 18 Miles. The Road passes thro' the Village of the Kaskaskia Indians, of 15 Cabbins, and afterwards thro' a French one, called Prairie de Roche, in which are 14 Families. This last is distant 3 Mile from Fort Chartres; between is the Village called *L'Etablisment*, mostly deserted, and the Inhabitants gone to Misere on the West Bank of the River, a little higher than the Kaskaskias.

"20th, arrived at Fort Chartres, where I found one of a well imagined and finished Fort of 4 Bast^{n}. of Stone Masonry, designed defensible agt. Musquetry. The Barracks are also of Masonry,

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commodious and elegant. This Place is large enough to contain 400 Men, but may defend itself with a Third of the Number against Indians, if Care is taken to mow the Weeds near it, which grow to 10 and 11 F^t^ Height, and very rank. It is now in Danger of being undermined by the Mississippi, whose Eastern Bord is already within 26 Yards of the Point of the S. W. Bastion. The Bank I found thirty Feet high, Sandy, with small Gravel (very uncommon Soil for the Banks of this River, that are mostly Mud or flat Clay), and perpendicular; so that the crumbling occasion'd by Frost would demolish in a little Time this small Space before the Bastion. When we took Possession of this Fort the River was above 100 Yds. Distance, and before that, the French, who foresaw its Approach, had expended much Labour and Money to try to prevent it. They fascined and piled the Banks, but the Torrent soon got Passage behind them. Had they brought the Banks to a large Slope, retired those of a gravelly Kind so as to have an Eddy on them in Flood Time; drove a Number of Button-Wood short Stakes in the Slope, which immediately take Root, and got together floating Trees and any Thing else of that Kind the Floods bring down, made those fast at the Point where the Stream divides to come by the Fort and round the Island opposite to it; This last might have averted the Strength of the Current towards the western Bank, and by stopping the Rubbish that comes along with the Floods, have formed a Bar at the Point. The gravelly Banks would not have resisted the Flood an Eddy would have laid upon them; nor would there have been any Ressistances to the Current at Bottom, whose Effect would have thereby been diminished. Upon these Principles I gave Instructions to Lieu^t^ Pitman, Assis^t^. Engineer at this Post, to proceed. The Ruin of the Fort was inevitable next Spring without doing something. But a Part at least may be saved at a small Expense, to lodge the Garrison till other Measures are resolved on.

"The Sickly State of the Troops did not allow of getting any Number to work during my Stay, nor was the Water low enough, or the Heats abated, to make much Work otherwise advisable. This being the Case, I proceeded the 28th to view the Country upwards; our own Boatmen being sickley and much fatigued, I went by Land, accompanied with Lieu^t^. Pitman and Ensign Hutchins, to Kyahokie [Cahokia], 45 Miles distant from the Fort, and the upper most Settlement on our Side.

"In the Route we pass le Petit Village, 5 Miles from the Fort, a Place formerly inhabited by 12 Families, now only one since our Possession. The abandoned Houses are most of them well built and left in good Order. The grounds are favourable near the Village for Grain, particularly Wheat; and extensive cleared Land, sufficient for the Labour of 100 Men to cultivate.

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"We turn off here to the Eastward, and in 2 Miles come on the high Ground, when we keep on till within 3 Miles of Kyahokie, when we return to the Plain to get to that Village. Here are 43 Families of French, who live well, and so might three Times the Number, as there is a great Quantity of arable clear Land of the best Soil near it. There is likewise 20 Cabbins of Peoiria Indians left here. The Rest and best Part are moved to the French Side, 2 Miles below Pain Court. It is reckoned the Wheat thrives better here than at Kaskaskias, owing, probably, to its being more Northerly by almost a Degree.

"At This Place we endeavoured to hire 3 men and a Canoe, as we said, to view the Missouri; but our Intention was as far as the Illinois River. We could not prevail by Intreaty or Money to get such a Number, or even a Canoe, to go with us. An Invitation came from Mr. S^{t}. Ange, the French Commandant in the Illinois, to go to Pain Court, with Promise to be assisted in our Progress upwards. We went to Pain Court the 30th, where we staid next Day; were civilly treated by Mr. S^{t}. Ange and the other Gentlemen, but, thro a little Jelousy, were disappointed in going upwards, and returned to Kyahokie the 31st in the Evening.

"The Village of Pain Court [now St. Louis], is pleasantly situated on a high Ground which forms the W. Bank of the Mississippi; it is 3 Miles higher up than Kyakokie; has already fifty Families, supported chiefly from thence; and seems to flourish very quick.

"At This Place, Mr. Le Clef [Laclede] the principal Indian Trader resides, who takes so good Measures, that the whole Trade of the Missouri, That of the Mississippi Northwards, and that of the Nations near la Baye, Lake Michigan, and St. Josephs, by the Illionos River, is entirely brought to Him. He appears to be sensible, clever, and has been very well educated; is very active, and will give us some Trouble before we get the Parts of this Trade that belong to us out of His Hands.

"We found it impracticable to go further upwards, without waiting for a Boat from ye Fort, which would have been a long Time of coming, and otherwise might have given Jealousies that would have occasioned greater Dissappointment, as Mr. le Clef is readily served by the Indians he has planted within 2 Miles of Him.

"We returned to Fort Chartres the 2nd of Septr. by the same Route we came. Some Days were employed in visiting and directing Lieu^{t}. Pitman in the Work he was set about, and Composing Instructions regarding his viewing the Country towards the Illinois River, and likewise, that on the other Hand to the Ohio and the old Post of Massiac. I found myself no longer usefull at Fort Chartres, and returned to Kaskaskias the 6th.

"The next Day viewed the Country round this Village, in order to fix a Situation for the principal Post in Case of the Demolition of Fort

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Chartres by the Curr. of the Mississippi, which most probably will hapen in 3 Years' Time, perhaps in less. Viewed that part to the Nor'w[rd] of the small River, as also along the Bank of the great one upwards, to search for a rising Ground, and a Shelter for Craft; which now lays at the Village, thro want of such at the Fort. We discovered nothing to Purpose. The Afternoon, we cross'd the small River, with much fatigue, and, a Foot, visited the Situation of the Fort Begun by the French as mentioned already. We found it a very good one, accessible only on the East Side; the West by which we went up, narrow, steep, and easily defended. It commands the Town, the River below, overlooks the Plain towards the Mississippi, which does not seem 3 Miles across in a straight Line, and has a fair chance of being a healthy Spot, at least an airy one, as it is high Placed, on dry Ground, and near good Water.

"Our Possession of the Illinois is only usefull at present in one Respect. It shows the Indian Nations our Superiority over the French, to whom, they can thence perceive, we give Law. This is dearly bought by the Expense it is to us, and the Inconvenience of supporting it. The French carry on the Trade all round us by Land and by Water; 1st, Up the Mississippi, and to the Lakes by the Ouiascoasin, Foxes, Chicagou, and Illinois Rivers; 2ndly, Up the Ohio to the Wabash Indians; and even the small Quantity of Skins or Furs that the Kaskaskias and Peoirias (who are on our side) get by hunting is carried under our Nose to Misere and Pain Court. A Garrison at the Illinois River and a Post at La Baye will partly prevent the first; and one at Massiac will, as has been said, stop their Intercourse with the People on the Wabash, who consist of several Nations. Coop'd up at Fort Chartres only, we make a foolish Figure; hardly have the Dominion of the Country, or as much Credit with the Inhabitants as induce them to give us any Thing for Money, while our neighbours have Plenty on Trust."

On the 22d of August, Baynton, Wharton & Morgan issued a receipt to George Croghan at Fort Chartres for £113. This was probably for a payment made by him for Indian goods. George Morgan, a member of the firm, and John Jennings, an employe, were then at Fort Chartres with the cargo which Jennings had taken down the river in the spring, and the goods which Morgan took down under escort of Croghan's Indians. On September 10th, Croghan wrote to Sir William Johnson, as follows:

FORT CHARTRES, Sept. 10th, 1766.

SIR:—After a long & fatiguing Passage from Sioto, (from which place I wrote your Honour last) we arrived here the 20th of August,

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where I found the Several Nations of Indians residing in this Country was Collected together at the Kaskaskias, a large Indian Village near ———, a French Town. After delivering my dispatches to Colonel Reed & consulting with him about the Conference to be held with the Indians, I set out for the Kaskaskias & had a meeting with the several Nations, where the Deputys of the Six Nations, Shawanese, Dellaweres, & Hurons, delivered the Speeches sent by them from their Nations to those Nations, in a very Spirited Manner.

And in the afternoon the Several Nations Returned those Deputys answers to their Speeches; after which I fixed a day for them to assemble at Fort Chartres in Order to hold the Conference.

The Conference begun at Fort Chartres the 25th of Augt., where was Assembled the Chiefs & principle Warriors of Eight Nations, divided into Twenty-two tribes or bands, which made it very deficult to do business with them; however, after two days meeting with them, we finished the business to the Satisfaction of the Several Nations, who all seemed Convinced that the French had imposed upon them in every thing they had told them. A General Peace & Reconciliation was then declared in Public between his Majesty's Subjects, the Northern Nations, & all those Western Nations, except three Tribes which the French had influence enough to keep back from attending the Conference. But those, the Chiefs which attended the Conference brought them to me at Fort Chartres the 5th of this Month, when I settled every thing with them, & Received them into the Covenant Chain of friendship; The spirited Conduct & Steadiness of the Deputys of the Nations that attended me from Fort Pitt was of great service to bring about this General union, as those Nations in this Country stand in great Awe of the Northern Nations.

At present, Indian Affairs ware a different Face in this Country, & the Indians seem quite reconciled to the English, & the French in their turn begin to fear the Consequences, since the Conference. The Indians has brought in all the Horses they had formerly stolen from the Garrison, & I flatter my self, with a little good Usage, they will soon become a very quiet & Peacable People, as they are Naturally well disposed, had not the French influenced them to mischief.

The unavoidable Necessaty I was under of making a Present to the Indians that met me at Sioto has obliged Col! Reed & my self to purchase a Quantity of Presents here, & to accrue some other expences for maintaining the Indians, as they could not be supported by the Garrison without distressing the Troops, which will greatly increase the expence of my Journey, more than I cod. Wish, or indeed could have expected, But here has been above One Thousand Indian Men, besides Women & Children, & there was an absolute necessaty of Convincing them at this time that the English were as able to Support them as the French, which I think they are, & I can assure your Honour that the greatest frugallity has been observed. Coll. Reed has given me all the assistance in his power, but has been very ill, as is all the Garrison; there is not above three Officers fit for Duty & about 50 Men.

I have been so ill this fortnight past that I have not been able to write, or would have sent your Honour a Coppy of my Transactions with those Nations. As I am so Reduced with Sickness, I shall be obliged

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to go round by New Orleans, as I 'm not able to ride aCross the Country to Fort Pitt.

I am, with great respect, your
Honour's most obedient & most
Humble Servant
GEO: CROGHAN.

TO THE HONOURABLE
SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON, Baronet.

Croghan and his party, with Gordon and Hutchins, proceeded from Fort Chartres to New Orleans, September 18th, and reached their destination on October 14th.[1]

Following is Captain Harry Gordon's original *Journal* of the voyage down the Mississippi, which has not heretofore been published:

"8th Septr. We were prepared to descend the Mississippi, but that Night I was seized with a Fever, which continued with unremitting Violence untill the 16th. at Night. 17th, being much better, I pursued my Route down the Mississippi the 18th, tho' but in a Weakly State of Body.

"Lieut. Pitman had made a Plan of the River in coming up, which, upon examining, we found to be exacter than any thing we could do, in tumbling down this rapid Torrent. We therefore continued to descend the River untill we came to the Natchez. To give an Idea of the Mississippi at this Season, when the Water is low, one must suppose a large Hollow in which you are, and a low Country into which you must descend. Where you are, on one Side, is a Bank, from 25 to 30 Feet high, whence very often you see and hear great Pieces of Mud or Clay, on which are growing Trees, tumbling into the Torrent; round you is the Stream, running from 3 to 5 Knots an Hour, in which are huge Trees in the Current, fast to the Bottom but bent by the impetuous Stream, and some of them only bobbing up their Heads, when their own Elasticity gets the better of the Strength with which the Water bends them down. On the other Hand is a large Beach of Mud, spread over sometimes with Sand, in which one or more Spots are seen covered with Trees. Before you is a quick Descent of Country, appearing much under you. This you see divided, sometimes with sandy Beaches, and at others with Streams of Water, interspersed with a thousand Logs, and thro' which to direct your Course is a very great Incertainty. When you land and, with much Difficulty, scramble up the Banks of falling Mud, you find Traces of the Floods and Stuff that hinders your going far, or you find yourself on Mudy Sands, where you may wander among pieces of broken Land for a Mile, at least, without reaching the firm Ground. Indeed it has little Tittle to be called so anywhere to the Westward, as

[1] Hutchins's *Description of Louisiana*, p. 61.

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there is no Height to be seen, nor any sort of Soil to tread on but soft Mud, or among Canes. On the Eastern Bank there are the following high Lands after we pass'd the Ohio, before we reached the Natchez, vizt.,

"*Mine au Fer;* those on Artaguet and Margot Rivers; That on the Yazous; The Small and great Gulf where Stone is to be seen—These are the only habitable Grounds above Natchez.

"It may be thought next to impossible to navigate against this Stream, yet such is the Force of Oars, that large Boats of 20 Tons Are brought by them to the Illinois in 70 odd Days, which is in some Parts 500 Leagues by Water from New Orleans when the River is low. At that Season there are many large Bends; along the inward Side of These the Boats get on, as there the Current is not att all strong. When the River is high and overflows its Banks, the Distance is lessened, and the Water does not run with such Rapidity as when lower and narrower. In those high Times there must be Tracts of Country thirty miles wide, overflowed.

"Those Boats go to the Illinois twice a Year, and are not half loaded in their Return; was there any Produce there worth sending to Market, they could fetch it at no great Cost. They bring, however, Lead, the Produce of a Mine on the French side; But it comes in but small Quantities; they have not skill in working of it, neither have sufficient Numbers of Hands to carry it on. The Boats in Time of Floods, which happen only in May & June, go down to N. Orleans from the Illinois in 14 and 16 Days.

"The 6th Octr. we visited the Fort at the Natchez. A Detachment of sixty Men of the 21st Regiment had come up to this Place six Days before. They found the Fort in a repairable State. The Parapet, made of Cypress hewn Timber, was only deficient in one Side of Five, which is its Figure—several of the Walls of the Houses and some of the Roofs were entire, and the Bridge, altho not very sound, served, by being a little supported. It was lucky this Condition was such; had it been otherwise, the Want of either Artificers, materials, or Tools would have put the Detachment to great Inconvenience. The situation of this Place is high and pleasant, commanding a Prospect of a very large & Handsome Country, in many Places cleared, diversified with gentle Risings, which are covered with Grass and other Herbs of a fine Verdure. It is ¾ of a Mile from the River, and cannot command the Craft that lays under the Bank; a Look out for a Serj't's or Corporal's Guard must be built for that Purpose.

"The Natchez was among the first setled Spots in Louisiana, and had not the Catastrophe befell the Inhabitants of being masacred by the Indians who lived among them, It would have now been thick peopled,

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and a very flourishing Colony. The soil is good on the highest Grounds, black & light, & properly exposed for the Growth of the Vine. Indigo will prosper on the Flat Parts, or even on the Ridges for some Time. The Number of Mulberries and the Climate are favorable for Silk; & Tobacco would be a mere Drug there. The Place, from the Goodness of the Water & Soil, must have good Air. It is in Lat. 32° 20′. Yet the Winter's cold is considerable. The Distance from New Orleans is 94 leagues, and 50 of them above their highest Setlement at Point Coupee (the few Banditti at Arkansas don't deserve the name of Setlement), which most probably will be the highest for many Years. This is a proper Distance to attack from, but not easily to be attackt up such a Stream. The common Communication to the Natchez is up the Mississippi. But it may be supported down the Ohio, and a Force sent from thence that will be truly formidable to our Neighbours below.

"Such is the Natchez. Its only Dissadvantage is a Port to the Sea. The free Navigation of the Mississippi is a Joke; no Vessel will come to Ibberville from Sea. It was once done and found merely possible at the King's Expense. Neither is there any Restriction by the Treaty from building what Forts they Please at the Bar or on the River, as will certainly be done when the Spaniards get the Dominion. In Time of War they probably will make Use of these Forts to keep us out of the Mississippi; which may be possible to do, as Vessels must warp up to N. Orleans. Had this Place been given to us, We would have had on the Mississippi in a short Time the most valuable Colony to the Crown in N. America; without it we have only the Land of the Country. I fancy this was not well understood by the Peace Makers.

"The 8th we pass'd the River Rouge. 50 Leagues up it the French have a Fort at Natchitoche. The Spanish Govr. went up to visit this Post, as it is the nearest Place to Mexico, and not very distant from the Out Post of the Spaniards.

"The 9th. We went ashore on the French Setlement of Point Coupee. It consists of 110 Families, who live much at Ease. Their Produce is at present only Tobacco & Corn. They likewise cut some Lumber. They are not strong enough in Negroes to attempt making Indigo, which is the only Reason they don't. Their Situation is low, and are obliged to have Levies of Earth to keep off the Floods. These People are much displeased at the Approach of Spanish Government. There is here a small, ruinous Stockade, with 1 Officer and 10 Men in it.

"10th, In the Morning we visited Fort Bute which is 12 Leagues below Coupee. This is a Square, with half Bastions (they had better been whole ones) of 600 Stockades. There are Huts in the inside for Officers & Men of 100 in Number. The Intention of this Post is to cover our Communication to the Mississippi by Pontchratrain and Maure-

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pas Lakes, and thro the Gulley or Ditch of the Ibberville when there is any Water in it, which is only the case when the Floods come down the River. The Bed of this was now 24 Feet under that of the Ibberville. We endeavoured to view the clearing of this last, but were only able to go along it for 3 Miles, on Account of the Rankness of the Weeds, thro which there is no Path. The Bottom of the Ditch in that Space was pretty clear, only some Logs cut up that are not hauled away. Had there been any Craft at the other End I would have endeavoured to penetrate to it, & viewed the obstructions between the Amit and Lake Maurepas. Those are now the principal, and by Mr. Robertson, Engineer's, Report of them, they will require a great Deal of Labour to remove. It is now to determine whether that is to be done; or continue at the Option of the French or Spaniards for our Communication by Boats up the Mississippi. While they indulge us they make us pay for it, as I fancy the Expence of our Equipments at New Orleans will confirm.

"The 13th we were within 2 miles of New Orleans—we did not make this Day above 10 Miles with all our Strength of Oars, of which we rowed 8, our People having mostly recovered, so strong the Easterly Wind blew. The Colony of New Orleans is inhabited 20 Leagues above the Town on each side the River, which is to within 10 Leagues of the Ibberville. A little below this last Place The Mississippi Stream is less rapid. The River widens, The Banks are lower, and the whole appears more pleasant. The upper Setlers of the Colony are just planted, consisting of poor Acadians for the most Part; but 40 Miles above the Town you see well built Houses, many Negroes, and several Indigo Works in good order. Of this last there is a quantity made and is reckoned good of its Kind. The Plantations continue well improved towards the Town—whither we arrived the 14th, in the Morning.

"There are no Nations of Indians below the Illinois on the Mississippi till you come to the Arkansas. They live up the Branches of the Arkansa River near the French Post, which is half way to N. Orleans. They consist of 150 Men. The Mississippi in Floods runs round the Island formed by the two Branches of this River. The next Nation of Indians is the Tonicas, below the Natchez, a small Nation of about 30 Men. Then the Oumas & Alibamous, of 150 both. The last has setled here lately, having withdrawn from the River of that Name when we took possession of West Florida.

"Neither the French nor Spanish Governor were in Town. The great Aversion the Inhabitants had shewed to be under the Spanish Dominion [and] Their Remonstrances against the Ordinances he published, had chagrined Him so much as to be the Principal Reason of his Stay so long at the Balise.

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"New Orleans is but a small Town, not many good Houses in it, but in general healthy and the Inhabitants well look'd. Its principal staple is the Trade of Furrs and Skins from the Illinois—their Want of Negroes keep back the Indigo making. They have attempted Sugar, and there are now 5 Plantations that produce it; but they do not make it turn out to great Account. There is only a Stockade round the Place, with a large Banquet; their Dependance for Deffence is the Difficulty of approach. That up the River is tedious & easily opposed, particularly at the *Detour d' Anglois* and there is only 12 Ft. Water on the Bar.

"The Military Force at this Place is at present Small, not above 80 Spaniards remain of those brought with their Governor. He, it was said, expected a 1000 Men, 300 of which would be sent to the Illinois; whether that reinforcement was to come from Old Spain or the Havannah [we could not] learn with Certainty.

"Our Boat and Baggage being carried to the Bayoue, for which we paid 20 Dollars for the Boat alone, and is only 2 Miles distance, we left New Orleans the 15th, in the Evening, and lay that Night at the Bayoue. To this Place the Trade from Mobille comes, and all manner of smugling: There are three Schooners constantly ply between the East Side of Lake Pontchartrain and here, employ'd in bringing Tar. There is a good Harbour for Craft here."

Gordon and Hutchins continued on to Pensacola, and from thence to Havana, leaving Croghan and his party at New Orleans.

Among the Johnson Papers is found a receipt issued by Felix Sicard at New Orleans, November 13th, to George Croghan, for eighty-seven dollars, for the board and lodging of Croghan and servants. Another receipt, dated New York, January 15, 1767, issued by Pieter Dobson to George Croghan for £48, "for transportation of Croghan and others from New Orleans" indicates the time of his return to New York. Croghan arrived there before January 12th, as he wrote General Gage on that date, while in New York, concerning the best way of supplying provisions for the garrison at Fort Chartres, the necessity of cash transactions with the French farmers, and the advisability of depending on those people for supplies rather than on New Orleans, Pensacola, Mobile, or Fort Pitt. On the 17th, Croghan wrote Johnson, enclosing a report of his transactions among the Illinois, and speaking of his ill-health and his intention of resigning because of ill-treatment by General Gage. The latter wrote Johnson on the 25th, "Mr. Croghan is here, and just setting out for Philadelphia." Johnson, on receiving Croghan's letter, wrote Gage, telling him of the former's very solicitous desire to resign and have somebody put in his place. He adds: "I have for the last time advised him to think farther about it, and indeed I should be at some loss if he pursued his inclinations; from his long acquaintance and influence amongst

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the Indians in his Deputation; for it is such people only who are best calculated for that service; but he seems very uneasy, and without assigning more than I formerly mentioned, appears determined. I know he was greatly affected at the slanders of some persons in Pennsylvania sometime ago, when he declared his inclination to resign as soon as he returned from the Illinois. I must do him the justice to say that he has ever been ready to offer his service wherever it was necessary, and that he has formerly suffered many losses on these occasions; neither have I ever been able to find out that he was interested."

On February 22d, Croghan complains to Johnson of the attacks of Traders on his reputation.

Sir William wrote to Gage on April 1st: "Mr. Croghan is now here and is to continue in his office. He will set out in a few days, and wait upon you, to receive your commands for Fort Pitt, whither he proceeds immediately."

Croghan wrote Johnson from Fort Pitt, June 3d, informing him of some injuries done against the Six Nations and Delawares on the frontiers of Virginia, and repeating the Indians' complaint regarding settlements west of the Alleghany Mountains.

On August 21st, Johnson wrote Gage, advising that Mr. Croghan be sent from Fort Pitt to Detroit, to arrange for the restoring of Indian prisoners to the different tribes to which they belonged: "I judge its best that Mr. Croghan do proceed from Fort Pitt to Detroit, which is a journey of only six days; as he is not only better acquainted with the steps to be taken, but also can there examine into the abuses and disputes concerning the Traders, in which he apprehends he can do good service." On September 6th he wrote again, sending the letter by Croghan. Gage wrote from New York on the 21st: "Mr. Croghan set out yesterday for Philadelphia, in his way to the Detroit." On the 10th of October, Croghan was at Bedford; on the 18th he wrote Johnson from Fort Pitt. His journey to Detroit seems to have been made soon after; and his return, in the latter part of November. One of Johnson's correspondents wrote him from Detroit on the 24th of that month about pistols he was sending as a present, in care of Col. Craughan. In the middle of December Croghan held a conference with the Indians at Fort Pitt, regarding the unauthorized settlements of the whites west of the Mountains; and on the 18th of the same month the Traders at Fort Pitt presented a petition to him, complaining of Trade violations, a settlement of lawless persons at Redstone Creek, and the machinations of Colonel Cresap among the Indians. Croghan was in Philadelphia in January, 1768.

At Middle Creek, in what is now Snyder County, on January 10 and 11, 1768, one, Frederick Stump and his servant, John Ironcutter,

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had killed a Seneca Indian, called John Cook, or the White Mingo, his wife, two other Mohickon Indians and their Delaware and Shawnee wives, and three children. This was not the "White Mingo," a Six Nations chief who lived at Fort Pitt from 1759 until 1777, or later, whose Indian name was Conengayote,[1] or Kanaghragait,[2] or Canigaatt,[3] and who is said to have married Mary Montour, the daughter of French Margaret. Captain William Patterson, the son-in-law of John Finley, the Indian Trader, lived on Tuscarora Creek at this time. He was a bold, resourceful frontiersman and noted Indian fighter, whose exploits, with those of his father, furnished much of the material for the legendary history of the fictitious "Captain Jack, the Wild Hunter of the Juniata." At this time he was thirty years of age. On his own initiative and without authority from the Government, he raised a party of nineteen men, marched them to George Gabriel's house at the mouth of Penn's Creek, and after being "exposed to great danger by the desperate resistance made by Stump and his friends, who sided with him," arrested the murderers and delivered them to the sheriff at Carlisle on January 23d. Six days later, when the news was spread that the prisoners were to be taken to Philadelphia for trial, some of Stump's friends and sympathizers, to the number of seventy or eighty, surrounded the jail, overpowered the sheriff, and released the two men, carrying them off to a secluded place in one of the mountain valleys. Colonel John Armstrong wrote of this proceeding to Governor Penn: "Even the ignorant and giddy crowd who have committed this hasty, flagrant violation of the established course of justice, have done it under the influence of a mistaken apprehension of the intentions of carrying Stump to Philadelphia, together with a few particular matters that the more orderly and sedate among them, as well as their young people, deeply lament, and complain of, as bearing hard on them in their exposed situation.

"They tell us that the Government always manifested a greater concern at the killing or death of an Indian than at the death or killing of any of them; that the Indians first break the peace, and have, since the last establishment thereof, killed a considerable number of Pennsylvanians, at different times and places, and that no lamentation has been made, nor exertion of the powers of Government, to bring those savage butchers (as they call them) to account for this dangerous and bloody conduct, whereby, they say, that some of the frontier people will always be exposed to suffer the same fate, and that their wives and children must be threatened and insulted by Indians, and that a number of them

[1] Darlington's *Gist*, p. 214.
[2] *Old Tioga Point*, p. 109.
[3] *Penna. Col. Rec.*, viii., 293.

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must receive the fatal blow before they dare say it is war, with sundry other complaints of this sort."

This indictment of the continued inefficiency of the Proprietary[1] and Quaker Government, while in no way a justification for Frederick Stump's crime, was unfortunately true. Henry O'Brien, Peter Brown, and eight other men, in proceeding down the Ohio in August, 1767, with two large batteaux, loaded with goods, were murdered by the Indians, and part of the goods taken away, near the Falls of that River. Thomas Mitchell, a Trader, was likewise murdered in one of the Shawnee Villages in the Fall of the same year; and John McDonald was killed near Fort Pitt by a Delaware Indian in December.

On February 2, 1768, Croghan wrote Johnson from New York, concerning the murder of the nine Indians on the Susquehanna above Harris's Ferry by Frederick Stump and his servant, and of General Gage's fear of an Indian uprising. He returned to Philadelphia, and was there from the 7th of that month until the 18th of March, when he wrote Johnson that he was about to set out for Fort Pitt to meet the Indians. During his stay in Philadelphia in January, he appeared before the General Assembly and was examined in regard to Indian Affairs; that body having placed on its records, in a message to the Governor, delivered January 28th, its high opinion of Deputy Indian Agent Croghan, in these words: "We cannot presume that Mr. Croghan would do any act whatever that might give the least umbrage or uneasiness to the natives under his immediate superintendence; the commission he holds, the address and fidelity with which he has always executed that commission, and the eminent services he has rendered the Nation and its Colonies in conciliating the affections of the Indians to the British Interest, forbid the suspicion."

Croghan proceeded to Fort Pitt before the end of March, and in company with John Allen and Joseph Shippen, Jr., Commissioners appointed by the Governor, held an important Council and Condolence Meeting with some 1100 chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations, Delawares, Shawnees, and Wyandots. The meetings began on the 26th of April and lasted until the 9th of May. Through the efforts of Croghan and the Commissioners, together with the influence of a Provincial present of goods to the value of more than a thousand pounds, the breach of peace was patched up without a war.

In the early part of September Croghan travelled to Johnson Hall, and on the 19th of that month, in company with Sir William Johnson, his chief, arrived at Fort Stanwix, for the purpose of arranging a new boundary line with the Six Nations. Here they remained for nearly

[1] The Assembly threw the entire blame on Governor John Penn. See *Penna. Col. Rec.*, ix., 473–480.

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two months, the first few weeks of which were spent in waiting for and accelerating the coming of the chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations, Delawares, Shawnees, and other Indians, to attend a Great Council. This Council finally opened on the 24th of October, and lasted until November 6th. The principal object of the meeting was to purchase the title from the Six Nations to all that part of their territories lying east and south of portions of the Susquehanna north and west branches, and of the Ohio, from Kittanning to the mouth of the Cherokee (now Tennessee) River. During the conferences held at Fort Stanwix, Croghan received (November 4th) a confirmation of the grants which he claimed the Ohio chiefs of the Six Nations had made to him in 1749. One of these grants was for 100,000 acres of land on the west side of the Monongahela and south side of the Ohio, beginning at a point opposite the mouth of Turtle Creek, thence west along the rivers to the mouth of Raccoon Creek, up that creek ten miles, and, in a straight line, to the place of beginning. A second tract, "ten miles in breadth," was for 60,000 acres, extending "fifteen miles," along both sides of the Youghiogheny River, to be located so as to include the Sewickley Old Town, which site was probably on Big or Little Sewickley creeks in what is now Westmoreland County. A third tract, to contain 40,000 acres, was to be located on the east side of the Ohio (Allegheny) to the northward of the site of Shanoppin's Town, extending from the mouth of Two Mile Run southward along the Allegheny to the Monongahela, thence to and up Turtle Creek to the head waters of Plum Creek, down that stream to the Allegheny, and thence to the place of beginning.[1] The last mentioned tract included the 1352 acres on which Croghan had settled in 1762. It was provided in this deed that if any of the land granted should, thereafter, be found to lie within the limits of the charter grant to William Penn, that then, Croghan should have the right to locate the same number of acres on other ungranted lands which were at this time ceded by the Indian chiefs to Great Britain. It was no doubt in accordance with this provision that Croghan claimed and took up 100,000 acres of land in New York Province, lying between Lake Otsego and Unadilla River, for which he obtained a survey in the following year[2]; although he continued to sell his rights to tracts from the land between Raccoon Creek and the Youghiogheny until after 1773, to whoever would purchase them.[3] Another grant of land obtained from the Six Nations chiefs at the Fort Stanwix Conference was that conveyed to William Trent (Croghan's former partner), Robert Callender, David Franks, Joseph Simon, Levy Andrew Levy, Philip Boyle, John Baynton, Samuel

[1] A copy of this deed is printed in Peyton's *Augusta County, Virginia*, 74–77.
[2] Shown on Sauthier's Map of New York, 1779.
[3] See *Washington-Crawford Letters*.

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Wharton, George Morgan, Joseph Spear, Thomas Smallman, John Welch Estate, Edmund Moran, Evan Shelby, Samuel Postlethwait, John Gibson, Richard Winston, Dennis Crohon, William Thompson, Abraham Mitchell, James Dundas, Thomas Dundas, and John Ormsby, twenty-three Pennsylvania Indian Traders who had suffered very large losses through the war of 1763. This grant included all that part of the present State of West Virginia lying between the Ohio, the Little Kanawha, and the Monongahela rivers, the Laurel Ridge, and the south line of Pennsylvania extended to the Ohio. It was afterwards given the name of Indiana by the grantees, and attempts were made to erect a new Colony, but the grant failed of confirmation by the Crown. Trent and Wharton went to England to endeavor to obtain a confirmation, but while there were induced to throw in their interests with Thomas Walpole, Benjamin Franklin, and others, in securing the grant of Vandalia, which included the grants to the Ohio Company and to William Trent and associates, and extended to the mouth of Scioto.

So early as June 27, 1767, George Croghan, with his kinsmen, Edward Ward and Thomas Smallman, had petitioned the New York Council in behalf of themselves and others, to purchase 40,000 acres of land lying between Otsego Lake and Caniadcuagy Lake, and between the head branches of the Susquehanna River. He was given license to purchase Indian lands by the Council on July 6th. February 2, 1768, Croghan and his associates petitioned for a warrant for survey of the lands which he was entitled to purchase from the Indians. This petition was granted on the 10th. On November 25, 1769, a return of a survey was made for George Croghan and his associates, for a tract of 100,000 acres of land on the south side of the Mohawk River, in what are now Otsego, Burlington, and New Lisbon townships, Otsego County. On February 14, 1770, the township of Belvidere was granted to Croghan by the Council, and on March 5, 1770, a return of survey for George Croghan was made, for two tracts, containing together 18,000 acres in Cherry Valley.[1] This land in Cherry Valley afterwards seems to have passed to his daughter, the wife of Lieutenant Prevost.

Lord Hillsborough wrote Johnson from Whitehall in May, 1769, that the King would accept the cession of lands made by the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix, six months before, but deferred action on the Indian grants to Mr. Croghan and the Traders.

During the next five years Croghan was chiefly engaged in his land operations, at Otsego Lake and Fort Pitt. An interesting account of the pioneer settlements at Otsego at this time is given by Mr. Halsey in his *Old New York Frontier*. It is possible that Sir William Johnson himself may have been interested with Croghan in some of the Susquehanna

[1] See De Witt's map of these surveys in Halsey's *Old New York Frontier*.

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purchases, as Johnson had written Captain Harry Gordon in September, 1767, about the prospective purchase near the head waters of the Delaware and Susquehanna, and Gordon's chance of obtaining an interest therein. He wrote to Lord Hillsborough September 20, 1769, after receiving word from him that the King would not for the present approve the grants made by the Indians to Croghan and the Traders: "The one to Mr. Croghan was only a confirmation of two former grants which the Indians particularly desired to make, and believe they did without any influence; I am certain it was without mine." Another large tract of land adjoining Croghan's on the south was bought from the Indians and patented in 1769 to Charles Reade, Thomas Wharton, William Trent, and others. This was known as the Otsego Patent. Richard Smith was sent from Burlington, New Jersey, to survey this land in the spring of 1769. He visited Croghan's house at the foot of Otsego Lake in May, and his *Journal*[1] gives a contemporary account of the activities of Colonel Croghan in his new venture. Some extracts from this *Journal* read as follows:

"13th May, 1769. At Scramlin's [now Canajoharie] we turned off from the [Mohawk] River, pursuing a S.W. course for Cherry Valley. We met, on their return, four waggons, which had carried some of Col. Croghan's goods to his Seat at the foot of Lake Otsego. The carriers tell us they were paid 30*s*. a load each for carrying from Scramlin's to Capt. Prevost's, who is now improving his estate at the head of the Lake; the Capt. married Croghan's daughter.

"In the afternoon we arrived at Major Wells', one of the principal freeholders of Cherry Valley, called 12 miles from Scramlin's and 50 from Schenectady. . . . In Cherry Valley there are about 40 or 50 families, mostly of those called Scotch-Irish, and as many more in the vicinity, consisting of Germans and others. . . .

"14th. . . . The distance from Cherry Valley to Capt. Prevost's, on the Head of Susquehanna, is 9 miles.

"15th. . . . We arrived at Capt. Prevost's in 4 hours, the road not well cleared, but full of stumps and rugged, thro' a deep black mould all the way. . . . Mr. Prevost has built a log house, lined with rough boards, of one story, on a cove, which forms the head of Lake Otsego. He has cleared 16 or 18 acres around his house and erected a saw-mill, with one saw, the carpenter's bill of which came to £30. He began to settle only in May last. . . . The Capt. treated us elegantly. . . . He has several families seated near him, and gives wages from 55*s*. to £3 a month. In this part of our journey we passed thro' Springfield, in Waggoner's Patent, a German settlement of 10 families, where one

[1] Published in Halsey's *Four Great Rivers*

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Myers, from Philada., keeps a tavern and has established a pottery. . . . His house is about 5 miles from Capt. Prevost's. . . .

"16th. Our Company was retarded yesterday for want of craft, but this morning we proceeded in Col. Croghan's batteau, large and sharp at each end, down the Lake, which is estimated to be 8 or 9 miles long, and from one to 2 miles broad, the water of greenish cast, denoting probably a limestone bottom. . . . Very little low land is to be seen around the Lake.

"Mr. Croghan, Deputy to Sir William Johnson, the Superintendent for Indian Affairs, is now here and has carpenters and other men at work preparing to build two dwelling-houses and 5 or 6 out-houses. His situation [now the site of Cooperstown] commands a view of the whole Lake, and is in that respect superior to Prevost's. The site is a gravelly, stiff clay, covered with towering white pines, just where the River Susquehannah, no more than 10 or 12 yards broad, runs downwards out of the Lake with a strong current.[1]

"Here we found a body of Indians, mostly from Ahquahga, come to pay their devoirs to the Col.; some of them speak a little English.

"The Colonel's low grounds, intended for meadow, lie at some distance [west]; he talks of opening a waggon road to the Kaatskill. We lodged at Col. Croghan's, and next morning get all ready to go on the survey, Robt. Picken, our other surveyor, being gone down to wait upon the Duchess of Gordon and Col. Morris (whose Tract adjoins to our Patent), and not expected back in 10 days. . . .

[Smith then spent nearly a week in surveying his lands].

"22d. Wm. Ridgway and myself went up to the Colonel's, with the men and one pack-horse, leaving R. Wells, Jos. Biddle, and John Hicks at the corner tent. . . . The land from our upper corner to Croghan's house, along the Susquehannah, is, in general, but indifferent. . . .

"23d. Mr. Wells, Biddle, and Hicks came to us at Col. Croghan's . . . being rainy, we stayed here all day.

"24th. It rained again. . . . After dinner, Mr. Picken and another went out on a scout after our lost men. Muscetoes and Gnats ["called here Punkies"] are now troublesome. We observed a natural strawberry patch before Croghan's door, which is at present in bloom. . . .

"25th. We finished and launched our canoe into the Lake. . . .

"26th. Our lost party returned, having been 4 days and nights

[1] At this point in the lake, and almost in the stream itself, stands a large, round, smooth boulder, known as "Council Rock." The lake and rock are described by Cooper in *The Deerslayer*. They are shown in the photograph reproduced on the opposite page.

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Otsego Lake, Looking North from the Site of George Croghan's "Hutt."

The "Council Rock," made famous by Cooper's *Leather-Stocking Tales*, is seen in the Lake, near the south shore.

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in the wilderness without food; they abandoned the pack-horse and goods in the woods.

"27th. We are waiting for our goods. Picken was dispatched to Cherry Valley to hasten some hands hired there. We engaged Joseph Brant, the Mohawk, to go down with us to Aquahga.

"Last night a drunken Indian came and kissed Col. Croghan and me very joyously. Here are natives of different nations almost continually. They visit the Deputy Superintendent as dogs to the bone, for what they can get. John Davies, a young Mohawk, one of the retinue who has been educated at Dr. Wheelock's school in Connecticut, now quitted our service to march against the Catawbas in company with a few of his countrymen who take this long tour merely to gratify revenge or satiate pride.

"We found many petrified shells in these parts, and sometimes on the tops of high hills. . . . Col. Croghan says he once found oyster shells on the Allegheny Mountains. He showed us a piece of copper ore, as supposed. The Indian who gave it to him said he found it on our tract. . . . Col. C. says that some of his cows were out in the woods all last winter without hay, and they now look well. . . . The Colonel says he has sold his land back of Hardwick's Patent to sixty New England families at 6*s.* an acre, and that some of them will settle on the Tract this Fall.

"The Col. had a cargo of goods arrived to-day, such as hogs, poultry, crockery-ware, and glass. The settled Indian wages here are 4*s.* a day, York currency, being half a dollar.

"28th. Sunday. . . . Col. C. says that Capt. Prevoost has sold some of his lands at £20, and some at £40 p. hundred acres. The Col. talks of building a saw-mill and grist-mill here on the Susquehannah, near his house, and has had a mill-wright to view the spot.

"29th. Myself, with Joseph Brant, his wife and child, and another young Mohawk named James, went down in the new canoe to our upper corner. . . . This River, from the Lake Otsego hither, is full of logs and trees, and short, crooked turns, and the navigation for canoes and batteaux requires dexterity. Ed. Croghan [Edward Ward?] is about to employ the Indians in the useful service of removing the logs next summer."

On June 21, 1769, Croghan wrote Thomas Wharton from Lake Otsego: "I have been out in the woods these twenty days past, setting the surveyors to work on running the Boundary Line between this Government and the Indian Hunting Ground. . . . The time is over, I assure you, in this part of the Country, for making cheap purchases [of land], for there is nobody now that will sell except myself, on any reasonable terms, and it's necessity only that obliges me to offer mine as I do."

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He wrote again on July 18th: "Eight days ago I was favored with yours. . . . I should have answered it before now, but was then lying in a violent fit of the gout, for ye first time, wh. has confin'd me to bed for 18 days, & now am only able to sit up on ye bedside." In letters to Johnson a few weeks later, Croghan mentions his gout, and lameness from a hurt which he had received. On the 18th of September, he was still at Lake Otsego, where Alexander McKee visited him, and brought an account of Indian affairs at Fort Pitt. On November 2d Johnson wrote Governor Colden: "Mr. Croghan, my deputy, now going to Fort Pitt to inquire into the state of Indian affairs, begs to have the honor of an introduction to you, having some land matters to settle and patents to take out at New York."

Croghan wrote Johnson from New York November 16th, and from Philadelphia, December 22d. Lieutenant B. Roberts, in a letter dated New York, February 7, 1770, mentions a visit to Col. Croghan, and the latter's illness.

He wrote Johnson from Otsego March 10th and 17th, 1770, asking assistance in obtaining a loan at Schenectady, with the property near Cherry Valley as security; mentioning his inability to obtain large sums due him in Pennsylvania; and speaking of visits by Messrs. Fitch, Chew, and Pomery at his "Hutt." He wrote again about a month later, of his failure to borrow; and again on May 11th, mentioning a journey which he would make southward for his health and business interests.

Johnson wrote him on the same day, making suggestions for Croghan's guidance in his Indian transactions at Fort Pitt. Croghan wrote from the latter place August 24th, enclosing John Campbell's bill of £61 4*s*. for wampum furnished him.

Croghan mortgaged his Otsego tract of land to William Franklin, son of Benjamin, and lost it under foreclosures in 1773. The title later passed to William Cooper and Andrew Craig, both of Burlington, N. J., which was also the home of Richard Smith, who had stopped at Croghan's house on his way to visit his own family's land, adjoining Croghan's, in 1769. Mr. Cooper later visited the place in the interest of Croghan's mortgagees. He afterwards decided to settle the tract, and by 1786 had succeeded in getting several families located upon it. In 1790 he brought his own family to the lake (including the infant, James Fenimore Cooper, who was afterwards to write the Leather Stocking Tales), and founded the town of Otsego, the name of which was later changed to Cooperstown. These facts led Mr. Halsey to remark, in his *Old New York Frontier*, that "had Croghan succeeded in his enterprise, the world, probably, never would have heard of 'Leather Stocking.'" Mr. Halsey might have gone further, and said that the career and experiences of Croghan probably furnished or might well have furnished Cooper with

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some of the material not only for his character of Leather Stocking, but for a number of his other characters and for many of the incidents of his frontier stories.

Fenimore Cooper, whose father built his house near the site of Croghan's "Hutt," at the foot of Lake Otsego in 1789, writes of this location in the introduction to his story of *The Pioneers:* "There is a tradition which says that the neighboring tribes were accustomed to meet on the banks of the Lake to make their treaties, and otherwise to strengthen their alliances, and which refers the name to this practice. As the Indian Agent of New York [Croghan] had a log dwelling at the foot of the Lake, however, it is not impossible that the appellation grew out of the meetings that were held at his Council fires[1]; the War drove off the Agent [Croghan left there several years before the war], in common with the other officers of the Crown; and his rude dwelling was soon abandoned. The Author remembers it a few years later, reduced to the humble office of a smoke-house."

In 1771 the New York Government patented to General John Bradstreet some 20,000 acres of land lying on the south side of the Susquehanna, opposite to and above the mouth of Unadilla River. Bradstreet died in 1774. In the winter of 1776–77, complaints were made by the Oghquaga Indians to the New York Provincial Congress that they had not been paid for certain lands sold by them to George Croghan for the benefit of "the late General Bridgeport [Bradstreet]." The Indians had deeded the land to Bradstreet October 29, 1768, and accepted Croghan's note, and "the said lands had since been patented to others under the great seal of the State of New York." These complaints had previously been carried to England by Brant, when he sailed in November, 1775, and had been laid before the King's Ministers by him in March, 1776. In February, 1777, the Provincial Congress sent a friendly message to Brant at Oghquaga, by John Harper, who had been a schoolmate of his at Wheelock's school, and was "very intimately acquainted at the Oghquaga Castle." The letter which Harper carried read in part as follows:

It gives us real concern that George Croghan has abused your confidence and defrauded you of money due on his note at hand. He has treated many other subjects of this State in the same manner, first run-

[1] "Otsego . . . was mentioned in 1753 by the Rev. Gideon Hawley, and written as now. . . . More than a century since, *Ostenha* was one name for the Lake, and Cooper said the large stone at the outlet still retained the name of Otsego Rock when he wrote *The Deerslayer*. Father Bruyas gives *ostenra* as "a rock"; Schoolcraft has *otsteaha* for "rock" in Mohawk, and *otsta* in Oneida. Adding the locative [*go*] and making due allowances, it is reasonable to interpret this, "place of the Rock."—Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Place Names of New York*, p. 174.

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ning greatly in debt, and then privately removing out of its jurisdiction. The Great Council [the Continental Congress] will, however, when the important business which at present engages all its attention shall admit, endeavor to secure your debt.

Brothers, the Great Council never will suffer you to be defrauded of your lands; but will severely punish all who attempt it, and you may safely depend on our protection. If a settlement should be attempted, the Great Council will order the intruders to be removed.

The boundary controversy between Pennsylvania and Virginia, which had been discussed by Dinwiddie and Hamilton before the Braddock Campaign, became acute again after 1768; Virginia claiming that the western line of Pennsylvania was east of the Forks of Ohio, and that Fort Pitt was within the chartered limits of Virginia. It will be seen from the terms of Croghan's deed from the Indians that it was to his advantage to have the western boundary line of Penn's grant limited to a point east of Fort Pitt; as otherwise his Indian grant would be void by its own terms. Owing to this fact, it is reasonable to believe, as the Pennsylvania authorities often suspected, that Croghan was the chief person to stir up the boundary war between the Virginians and Pennsylvanians on the western frontier, in 1771 and 1772. Washington visited and dined with Col. Croghan "four miles above Fort Pitt," on his way down the Ohio River to examine lands on the Kanawha in October, 1770. On his return up the river, he rode overland from the Mingo Town (now Mingo, Ohio), to Fort Pitt, crossing the branches of Raccoon and Shurtee's (Chartier's) creeks, and examining the land on what was a portion of Croghan's claim. He arrived at Fort Pitt on the 21st of November and the next day "invited the officers and some other gentlemen to dinner" with him at his tavern, "among whom was one, Dr. [John] Connolly, nephew to Col. Croghan, a very sensible, intelligent man, who had travelled over a good deal of this western country." Connolly was afterwards the representative of Lord Dunmore, and leader of the Virginians at Fort Pitt during the boundary disputes.

Washington, as has here been stated, visited Fort Pitt in October and November. Captain William Crawford, at that time a resident of what is now Fayette County, Pennsylvania, and engaged by Washington to survey for him some lands on Raccoon and Chartier's creeks, wrote the latter December 6th: "Colonel Croghan is at Fort Pitt still, and I understand is to stay the chief part of the winter." He wrote again, April 20, 1771: "Agreeable to your request, I went to view Colonel Croghan's land; but before it could be done the line was to be run, which I attended. . . . What land is worth anything is already taken by somebody, whose survey comes within the line we run. But the Colonel is not content with that line, as he thinks it does not include

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land enough. I am afraid he has not proper title to what he is now claiming; but I will avoid giving him any certain answer about the land as long as I can possibly do so. I have found some good tracts of land on the head of Chartier's Creek and the head of Raccoon Creek. . . . I have not told him where the land lies, and I am afraid to tell him till he runs the line, for I think if he knew of it he would run it in on purpose to have the selling of it to you; as he prides himself much upon it, and makes it a handle to all bargains he is making with other people." Crawford writes to Washington again on August 2d: "I saw a letter from Mr. Tilghman in regard to Colonel Croghan. He says the latter has no right to any land as yet, nor cannot tell whether he ever will have from the Crown. Croghan claims it from an Indian deed, and is making out patents to such as will buy of him; but Mr. Tilghman says in his letter, 'I hope persons will ask themselves how they will come by their money again, if, in a few years, his title should be found not good.' "[1]

On the 9th of August, Crawford wrote James Tilghman, Secretary of the Pennsylvania Land Office: "I understand . . . that there is an agreement entered into by a number of the inhabitants of Monongahela and Redstone . . . to join, and keep off all officers of the law. . . . This was set on foot by a set of people who have made a breach of the law. . . together with a notion propogated by Colonel Croghan that they had no right to obey any precept issued from Pennsylvania. He has run a line from the mouth of Raccoon up the Ohio to Fort Pitt, and thence up Monongahela, above Pigeon Creek; thence across, till it strikes Raccoon, ten miles up it; and says he has one more grant of 100,000 acres to lay off in a parallel with that. Many surveys he has cut to pieces and sold to sundry people. . . . He has done so with one of mine and many others."

Washington wrote Crawford from Mt. Vernon December 6, 1771: "I cannot hear of any reserve in favor of Colonel Croghan; for which reason I do not care to say anything more to him on the subject of a purchase until matters are upon a more permanent footing, since no disadvantage can follow to him, after leaving him at liberty in my last letter to sell the tract he made me an offer of, to anybody he pleased."

On March 15, 1772, Crawford writes Washington that "Croghan claims and is selling any land that any person will buy of him, inside or

[1] Some of Croghan's grantees, as disclosed by the deed-book of the old Augusta County Court (which soon after exercised jurisdiction over southwestern Pennsylvania), were as follows: Bernard Gratz, of Philadelphia, 55,627 acres on Chartier's and Raccoon creeks and Robinson's Run; Joseph Simon, of Lancaster, 10,580 acres on Raccoon Creek; Edward Ward, of Fort Pitt, 3,863 acres; Thomas Lawrence, of Philadelphia, 18,580 acres on the southwest side of the Ohio; and smaller tracts to Jacob Bausman and Benjamin Tate, of Fort Pitt. Gratz, Simon, and Lawrence were merchants, and had probably furnished Croghan with goods or moneys.

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outside of his line, and offers his bond to make title for it and have no money till then, at ten pounds sterling per hundred acres. He has his surveyors running out land now constantly; and he has taken and run out land for himself ten miles clear of his line." On December 29, 1773, Crawford wrote Washington: "Some people, about ten or twelve in number, have gone on your Chartier's land within these few days; and there is no getting them off except by force of arms. They are encouraged by Major Ward, brother to Colonel Croghan, who claims the land and says he has a grant of it from the Crown. . . . He further adds that Colonel Croghan says you and I have used his brother very ill, in pretending to buy his land and did not, but went and took the best of it, and would not agree to pay him. That was the reason offered for selling the land to any person who should choose to buy."

The following receipt (original now in the Emmet Manuscript Collection of the New York Public Library), issued by George Croghan, gives some light on the nature and extent of his land operations at this time:

PITTSBURGH, Octr. 9th, 1773.

Recd. of Mr. Alex. Ross, Three hundred & eighty-eight pounds three shillings and three pence, for Two thousand eight hundred & seventeen acres of Land on Raccoon Creek—and Two hundred & fifty pounds, for Two thousand one hundred & seventy acres of Land on the Ohio River, about three miles below Logs Town; making in all the [sum of] Six hundred & thirty-eight pounds, three shillings & three pence, Pennsylva. Curry.; having signed two Receipts of the same Tenor & Date. £630: 3: 3d.

GEO. CROGHAN.

Leaving Croghan's land operations and returning to his transactions with the western Indians, we find that on March 7, 1771, he received and transmitted to his superior officer certain information given by Mohikin John, and by Joseph, another Indian, concerning a confederation forming at the instance of the Six Nations to strike the English. On September 19th, in the same year, Johnson wrote Gage, mentioning Croghan's desire to quit the service; followed by a second letter on the same subject three months later. On May 20, 1772, Johnson wrote the Lieutenant-General again, to say that Alexander McKee was best qualified to succeed Mr. Croghan in charge of the Indians on the Ohio. On December 24th Croghan wrote the baronet from Fort Pitt, speaking of the satisfaction of the Indians at the abandonment of the post by the British garrison, and the demolition of the fort. The day before he had written to Thomas Wharton of Philadelphia: "With respect to the demolishing this Post, I believe that measure has been through Lord Hillsborough, and the last stroke of his resentment [at the granting of the

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charter by the King for the new colony of Vandalia]. Sir W. J. was never consulted on it. . . . I believe that the measure, wh. I believe was designed to hurt the new colonies, will serve only to promote its settlement."

On May 11, 1773, Croghan wrote Thomas Wharton from Fort Pitt: "Most of the people in this country is now in great confusion, on account of the Governour and Council of Virginia granting patents to Col. Washington for 200,000 acrs. of Land on Ohio & the great Kanawha. . . . It has been very unfortunate for me that ye proprietors of the New Colony [Vandalia] has never published their success in obtaining it. Had they done that, it would have made people hereabouts very easy." Again, on October 15th, he writes: "I wrote you a long letter ye beginning of last month, informing you the situation of the Indians & how uneasy they began to be on account of the Governour of the New Colony not coming to treat with them, and requesting you & the other Gentlemen concerned in ye Colony to send up some goods for presents to appease them, & some money to purchase provisions . . . 14 days ago a number of the Chiefs of ye Hurons, Ottaways, & Chipaways from ye other side the Lakes, with some Chiefs of ye Delawares, came here, in ye whole a hundred, to attend ye Intended meeting with the New Governour, and are eating up everything I had provided for the use of my family this winter. The whole of the Delawares, Shawnose and Six Nations in this Country are much alarm'd at Capt. Bullett & Capt. Thompson going down ye River with numbers of people to Settle a Country wh. they were Informed by the King's Messages was not to be settled—this with ye intire Neglect shown to them by ye Commander in Chief & Superintendent for some years past & their withdrawing ye former favours wh. was usual to give them, has led all those Nations to believe that we are favouring some Designs against them. This Neglect took place as soon as Lord Hillsborough opposed ye New Colony. I clearly saw it was intended to throw this Country into Confusion, so as to produce a broil with ye Indians & Inhabitants, by wh. his Lordship would have gained his point. On that occasion I Resigned my appointment [he was succeeded as Indian Agent by Alexander McKee], that I might oppose the measure, & have hitherto Luckily succeeded, with a considerable expense."

Croghan wrote Thomas Wharton again from Fort Pitt on December 9th, as follows:

My last letter to you was after some Chiefs of ye Indian Nations from over the Lakes arriv'd here, and requesting your assistance with ye other Gentlemen concern'd in ye New Colony, to wh. I have had no answer. From the conduct of Capts. Bullot, Thompson, and a number

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of other Land Jobbers last Summer, I had reason to suspect that the publick peace of this Country was in great danger. . . .

There met here about 400 Indians of seven different Nations, in consequence of the messages sent me by several noblemen and others of the proprietors, and nothing prepared for them; so that I had my choice of difficulties to encounter. If I refused to meet them or supply them with provisions, it threatened a disgust, wh. might produce mischief. At length, I chose the other method, and tho. I was in some doubts of gaining credit for presents, yet I was lucky in obtaining credit from Mr. Simons and Mr. Campbell for what I wanted, and for provisions. I was reduced to the necessity of pawning what little Plate I had and some other valuable things, to raise money to purchase of them to supply ye Indians; so you can judge what strates I have been put to on those Gentlemen's account. . . . 'T is currently reported here that there will be no New Colony and that it 's all lay'd aside since General Gage went home.

In the beginning of 1774 the boundary troubles between Pennsylvania and Virginia broke out in violent form on the western border; but this time Croghan does not seem to have been a very active partisan on either side. The delay in the confirmation of the grants of land by the king, and the doubt of his ever confirming Croghan's grant, together with the action of the Virginia legislature in granting Washington and his fellow officers in the French war large tracts of land on the Ohio and Kanawha, probably led Croghan to believe that his own interests would be served best by siding with Virginia, and this he seems to have done through most of the difficulties which ensued in the first half of the year. Captain Arthur St. Clair had written Joseph Shippen in the summer of 1772, that the associations forming west of Laurel Hill to oppose the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania were apparently the work of Colonel Cresap, "and Mr. Croghan is strongly suspected of giving it much encouragement privately," and that "there is still a number of people, abetted chiefly by Mr. Croghan, that refuse to submit to the jurisdiction of this Province." But the letter from which the last sentence was quoted also gave the probable reason for Croghan's action in then declining to recognize the Pennsylvania Government's claim to authority over the lands to which he was trying to complete his Indian title. St. Clair added: "I have said these people are chiefly abetted by Mr. Croghan, and I think I have reason to say so; for no longer ago than Friday last, the collector, and constable whom he had called to his assistance to levy his (Mr. Croghan's) taxes, were drove off by his people, and that Mr. Croghan himself threatened to put any or all of them to death if they attempted to touch any of his effects, for that he was not within the Province by thirty miles."

Croghan had written St. Clair on the 2d of June, 1772: "Pray, why did not the Proprietors prevent all those disputes by ascertaining

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their bounds. . . . They must well remember it's not a great number of years since the Assembly refused to build a Trading House or Fort here, alleging it to be out of Mr. Penn's grant; and after that, ye same Assembly refused granting money for the King's use, to assist in the reduction of Fort Duquesne. . . . I can truly say that I have never advised any person to use [ill] a sheriff or civil officer of the Province . . . but with respect to lands or taxes, I will give you my opinion, which is, that I think the people are fools if they don't keep their money till they are fully satisfied that their property is sure and that they are under the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania."

January 6, 1774, Dr. John Connolly, Croghan's nephew, and a much travelled soldier of fortune, bold and unscrupulous, posted some advertisements in the village of Pittsburgh, announcing that Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, had appointed him Captain and Commandant of the Militia of Pittsburgh and its dependencies, and that Dunmore proposed moving to the House of Burgesses the necessity of erecting a new [Virginia] County, to include Pittsburgh. The proclamation concluded with a command that all persons in the dependency of Pittsburgh should assemble themselves there as a militia on the 25th of the month. Connolly appointed six or seven magistrates, among them being Major Thomas Smallman (Croghan's cousin), John Campbell (Croghan's surveyor and clerk), and John Gibson. They refused to accept the commissions, however, at that time, but accepted them later. Captain St. Clair, who was then one of Penn's justices and land agents, living at Fort Ligonier, assembled the other justices of Westmoreland County at Pittsburgh on the date advertised for Connolly's muster, caused the Doctor to be arrested, and commited him to jail at Hannastown. He was soon afterwards released, on agreeing to appear before the Westmorland Court.

St. Clair wrote Joseph Shippen, February 25th: "As much the greatest part of the inhabitants near the line [in what are now Washington and Fayette Counties] have removed from Virginia, they are inexpressibly fond of anything that comes from that quarter, and their minds are never suffered to be at rest. Mr. Croghan's emissaries (and it is astonishing how many he has either duped or seduced to embrace his measures) are continually irritating them against Pennsylvania, and assuring them they are not within its limits." On April 4th, Croghan wrote to his attorney, David Sample, as follows:

I have been long convinced that Fort Pitt and its dependencies was without the limits of Pennsylvania, and no less convinced that the laws of that Province could have no force or power beyond its limits; yet as I have always considered any law better than no law, I have countenanced the law of that Province hitherto by pleading to some actions

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brought against me, and being bail to others; tho' at the same time I have always denied the jurisdiction by not paying the taxes, as in that case my liberty and property was in as much danger as all the rest of my fellow subjects in the Colonies have thought theirs, by submitting to a tax laid on them by the British Parliament, and which they have always withstood. Now, Sir, as the Colony of Virginia has this Winter extended the laws of that Government to this part of the Country, by raising the militia and appointing civil officers, I shall no longer countenance the laws of your Province by pleading to any actions brought against me, unless brought by the Colony of Virginia; for it must be granted that if any Colony has a right to extend their laws to this Country, Virginia must, till his Majesty's pleasure be known therein.

Since this change has happened, two actions have been brought against me from your Court, one at the suit of Richard and William Butler [Traders], the other at the suit of Joseph Spear; as you are my attorney I desire, when those actions are called in court, you won't appear to them. . . .

These instructions were probably given by Croghan for the sake of gaining time, and to escape the suits of his creditors; and it was probably a similar reason (*i.e.*, that he was financially unable to pay) that led him to decline to pay taxes on his lands to Pennsylvania, on the pretext that the lands were outside the limits of that Province.

Doctor Connolly, on the 6th of April, redeemed his pledge to appear before the Westmoreland County Court and answer to the charge for which he had been committed to jail by St. Clair and his fellow magistrates in January, and released on parole. The surprising manner of his appearance is best told in the words of Thomas Smith, who wrote to Joseph Shippen from the Westmoreland Court at Hannastown, April 7, 1774:

After Connolly was committed to Gaol in the manner you have been informed, the Sheriff let him at large on his giving his word of *Honour* to return at the Court. He did return, indeed, and in such a manner as might have been expected from his preceding conduct. We heard when we came up to this Court that he was mustering a large party, in order to prevent the Court from sitting. We thought that there could not be any foundation for such a report; but at the same time we thought it prudent to order the Sheriff to raise as many men as he could collect, to prevent us from being insulted by a lawless set of men, acting under the colour of authority. The time was so short that but few men were collected on our side and those few were ill armed, so that we found ourselves in a very disagreeable situation, when we received certain intelleigence that Connolly was coming down with 200 armed men. When we found they were at hand, the Magistrates thought it prudent to adjourn the Court, as it was near the time.

They soon after came down to the number of 150 or 180, with Colours flying, and their Captains, &c., had their Swords drawn. The first thing that they did was to place centinels at the Court House door,

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and then Connolly sent word that he would wait on the Magistrate and communicate the reasons of his appearance. The Bench and Bar were then assembled in Mr. Hanna's house, where we sent him word we would hear him. He and Penticost soon came down, and he read the paper which will be sent down to his Honour the Governor with the bearer of this; and then he read a duplicate of Ld. Dunmore to our Governor, together with the letter mentioned before.

The Court told him they would soon return an answer to what he had said. . . . We soon agreed on the terms of the answer; . . . one in any other form might have been the occasion of altercations; which he might have produced under concessions, or been attended with the most fatal consequences; for I have reason to believe the greatest part of them were wishing for some colourable reason to quarrel.

The Bench proposed to deliver their answer in the Court House. However, in that particular, they counted without their host; for they were refused admittance, and Connolly waited for them at the Court House door, where Mr. Wilson, at the request of the Court, delivered it; and after exchanging copies, they departed, more peaceably than might have been expected.

Doctor Connolly returned to Pittsburgh with his militia, and two days later placed under arrest Messrs. Æneas Mackay, Devereux Smith, and Andrew McFarlane, three of the Westmoreland County magistrates who resided in Pittsburgh. He sent them under guard to Staunton for trial; where they were released by Dunmore some four weeks later.

The murder of Logan's relatives opposite the mouth of Yellow Creek by Daniel Greathouse and his party at about this time, brought on the disturbance with the Mingo and Shawnee Indians known as Lord Dunmore's War. St. Clair wrote Governor Penn, May 29th: "The mischief done by Cresap and Greathouse had been much exaggerated when I wrote to Mr. Shippen, but the number of Indians killed is exactly as I informed Mr. Allen, viz., *thirteen* . . . Mr. Mackay, Mr. Smith, Colonel Croghan, Mr. Butler, and myself, entered into an association to raise victuals and pay a ranging company of one hundred men for one month."

St. Clair wrote Governor Penn again on June 22d: "Logan has returned, with *thirteen scalps* and a prisoner, and says he will now listen to the chiefs."

John Montgomery also wrote Penn from Carlisle, June 30th: "Our accounts from Fort Pitt are favorable . . . Logan's party was returned, and had *thirteen scalps* and one prisoner; Logan says he is now satisfied for the loss of his relations, and will sit still untill he hears what the Long Knife [the Virginians] will say."

On the 4th of June, Croghan wrote St. Clair that "the frequent reports brought from Hanna's Town, of two hundred men [the ranging

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company] being raised there, has alarmed Captain Conolly very much, and though I told Mr. J. Campbell the whole reason . . . now, as both Conolly and Campbell know this measure is the only one to stay the people from flying, and see that the country will condemn Conolly and his officers for not pursuing the same measure, they want to make it appear in another light, and that the intention is to invade the rights of Virginia . . . since Mr. Jo[hn] Campbell came up, I see the design is to create a fresh difference between Governor Penn and Lord Dunmore. . . . He has made two attacks on me, by letters sent by a sergeant and twelve men, which letters I answered, but would not gratify him to send them by his party . . . the truth is, they found this difference likely to be made up by the Indians, and find that nothing but misrepresenting our measures, and drawing on a fresh dispute between the Government of Pennsylvania and Virginia, can keep this man in command; wherefore I have determined to go to Williamsburg myself, and represent the state of the country, as soon as I hear the event of our last messages to the Indians." Before receiving this letter, St. Clair had written to Penn: "Mr. Croghan's views I do not pretend to see, but this you may be assured of, he is at present a friend to this country, and if it depends on him we shall have no war." He wrote again the next day: "Since I wrote to you yesterday I have received two letters from Mr. Croghan, which I now inclose. Though he seems to say that peace may be continued, I believe it is not his sentiments; and the circumstance of his going to Williamsburg, whatever design he may avow, is to be out of the way of danger; for he dare neither trust the white people nor the Indians." Six days later, Justice Æneas Mackay wrote Governor Penn from Pittsburgh: "Mr. Croghan, who has been grossly abused by our Bashaw [Connolly] lately, is gone to Williamsburgh to represent every part of his conduct to the Gover'r and Council in it's true light. Altho' others doubts, I am very certain Mr. Croghan is earnest and sincere respecting that intention, for he joins the rest of the inhabitants in charging all our present calamity to the Doctor's act."

St. Clair's letter to Penn of June 22d, already mentioned, read in part as follows:

In my last I informed you of Mr. Croghan setting out for Williamsburg; since which I had a letter from him from his own house. He therein informed me that he found the country so much alarmed at his going down, that he choose to return, and trust his business to letters, and desired to see me as soon as possible. Accordingly I set out for Pittsburgh the 17th inst., and had the happiness to find two of the principal Traders [Richard Butler and Robert George] arrived there [from the towns of the supposed hostile Shawnees] with a great quantity of peltry, and that they had been conducted there by some [three] of the Shawanese Chiefs; and that the rest of the Traders with their horses and

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skins, were got as far as the New Comer's Town, under the protection of another Shawanese party.

The Traders inform us that they have met with no ill-treatment from the Shawanese; but, on the contrary, they were at the greatest pains to protect them from the Mingoes, who had suffered most from the white people, and who came to their town several times with the intention to murder them. It seems they did not think it prudent to bring the Shawanese to Pittsburgh, but conducted them from some distance below that place, through the woods to Colonel Croghan's [four miles up the Allegheny]. Mr. Conolly ordered out a party of forty men to make them prisoners, as he says.

The people of the Town were alarmed at seeing a party march out the route they took, and suspected they were intended to attack a party of our people [Pennsylvania militia] stationed at the Bullock Pens, about seven miles from thence, which it seems has some time been threatened; and acquainted me with what they feared. I immediately waited on Mr. Conolly, and insisted, in direct terms, he should tell me if he had any such design. He assured me he had not, but that, as the Shawanese had committed depredations on his Majesty's subjects, he had ordered out that party to make those prisoners who had escorted the Traders; and that might have been his real intention; but I am convinced those who were to put it in execution would not have made them prisoners. We put it out of their power to do either, by sending them [the Shawnees] over the River. . . .

Whatever may be Mr. Croghan's real views, I am certain he is hearty in promising the general tranquility of the country; indeed, he is indefatigable in endeavoring to make up the breaches, and does, I believe, see his mistake in opposing the interests of your Government; and I doubt not but a very little attention would render him as serviceable as ever. Real friendship you must not expect, for, by his interests alone he is regulated; yet he may be useful, as by and by you will probably want to make another purchase.

St. Clair wrote the Governor again on July 17th: "The business Mr. Croghan had to communicate was this: That the Virginians are determined to put a stop to the Indian Trade with this Province, and that Messrs. Simons, Campbell, and Connolly have obtained an exclusive privilege of carrying it on on the frontiers of Virginia. He recommends the laying out of a town up the Allegheny at the Kittanning, to which the Traders might retire. . . . The Indians certainly will quit Pittsburgh, as it is at the risk of their lives they come there, to which I was an eye-witness. Croghan further says, that unless somebody is sent up by the Government to speak to the Indians very soon, that we shall see no more of them, and that the Delawares, who are still friendly, will be debauched."

Penn wrote St. Clair, August 6th, approving of Croghan's plan of laying out a town for the Pennsylvania Traders in the proprietary Manor of Kittanning, and sent him an order for that purpose. This

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town was soon afterwards started, and some of the Pittsburgh Traders removed thither.

On the 8th, St. Clair notified Governor Penn that some of the deputies from the Six Nations had arrived at Pittsburgh, bringing a very large belt to Croghan and McKee, to inform them of the death of Sir William Johnson, and of their intentions to remain at peace with the English and to endeavor to retain the other nations in peace.

Croghan wrote Thomas Wharton, August 10th: "I have done everything in my power to preserve the peace of this country, at an expense I am no longer able to support. The Delaware and Six Nation chiefs begin to suspect that unless some people of understanding from Philadelphia comes immediately to treat with their nations, that a general rupture will happen, as all their women begin to be very uneasy. . . . I wish you would send me 30,000 White Wampum and 20,000 Black, that I may try the utmost of my power and influence with ye nations for the public tranquility before I leave this; for here I can't stay long, as I can't support ye expense; nor have I money to purchase anything with to support them, and all the expense falls on me—no other person in this country seeming inclined to do anything."

Esquire Mackay writes St. Clair from Pittsburgh, September 4th, to tell him that two friendly Delaware Indians had been murdered by some white villains while on their way to Mr. Croghan's.

There was a brief lull in the boundary strife during the progress of Dunmore's campaign against the Shawnees in the Summer and Fall of 1774; but after the battle of Point Pleasant and the defeat of the Shawnees in October, it broke out afresh.

St. Clair wrote Penn from Hannastown, the county seat of Westmoreland County, December 18th: "Being this far on my way to Pittsburgh I found this morning a constable from Virginia here, who had made two men prisoners by virtue of a warrant from Major Smallman. The offence they had been guilty of, it seems, was assisting the [Pennsylvania] constable in executing a judicial warrant. Mr. Hanna had committed the [Virginia] constable, which I could not help approving of; but as there is some danger of his being rescued by force, I have advised the sending of him to Bedford."

Before daybreak on the 7th of February, 1775, fifteen armed Virginians, under the lead of Benjamin Harrison, rode into Hannastown and broke open the doors of the jail, releasing three prisoners. They were acting under an order from Major William Crawford, formerly one of the Pennsylvania justices, but now holding a commission from Virginia. Later in February, Connolly's soldiers arrested James Cavet and Robert Hanna, two of the Westmoreland County justices, and

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placed them under confinement in Pittsburgh, where they remained for more than three months.

On December 6, 1774, Lord Dunmore had issued a new commission appointing magistrates for the county of West Augusta, including the district around Pittsburgh, and on the 21st of the following February a number of the new justices west of the mountains met at Fort Dunmore (the name which Connolly had given to Fort Pitt), and held their first Court. They were George Croghan, President, John Campbell (Croghan's surveyor), John Connolly (Croghan's nephew), Thomas Smallman (Croghan's cousin), Dorsey Pentecost, John Gibson, George Vallandingham, and William Goe. Other justices, who were present at subsequent meetings of the Court, included Edward Ward (Croghan's half-brother), William Crawford (Washington's land agent), John Canon, John Stephenson, John McCullough, Silas Hedge, and David Shepherd. The records of the courts of West Augusta and of Yohogania (one of the counties into which West Augusta was subsequently divided by Virginia[1]) have been printed in large part by Mr. Boyd Crumrine in his *History of Washington County, Pennsylvania*. These records, for Augusta County, extend from February 21, 1775, to November 20, 1776; and for Yohogania County, from December 23, 1776, to August 28, 1780. They are practically the only records of the civil government of the country around the Forks of Ohio during most of this time; as the jurisdiction of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, which nominally covered all of Southwestern Pennsylvania, did not actually, at that period, extend much farther west and south than the present limits of the county; although three or four of the Westmoreland justices continued to reside in Pittsburgh.

George Croghan served as one of the Virginia magistrates for West Augusta at Pittsburgh during 1775; but his name does not appear as one of the justices present at any of the Courts held in 1776 or thereafter, so that we may conclude that he ceased to be a justice after 1775.

On May 16, 1775, less than a month after the actions at Lexington and Concord, a "Meeting of the Inhabitants of that part of Augusta County which lies on the west side of the Laurel Hill" was held at Pittsburgh, and a Committee of Safety for the District was chosen. Of this Committee, George Croghan was Chairman, and the other justices of Augusta County, with some of the justices of Westmoreland County, and other leading citizens, were members. The Committee adopted a

[1] West Augusta included all that part of Pennsylvania east of the Allegheny and Ohio, south of the Indian boundary line at Kittanning and west of the Laurel Hill. Yohogania County included that part of West Augusta north of the mouth of Cross Creek and the point where Laurel Hill crosses the south line of Pennsylvania. See map in Crumrine's *Washington County*, p. 182.

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set of resolutions, approving the spirited behavior of their brethren in New England in "opposing the invaders of American rights and privileges to the utmost extreme," and resolving that the recommendation of the Richmond Convention of March 20th, "relative to the embodying, arming, and disciplining of the militia, be immediately carried into execution." Similar resolutions were adopted at Hannastown.

On May 13th, James Cavet, one of the Westmoreland justices who had been carried off from Hannastown by Connolly on the 22d of February, and was still confined in prison bounds at Fort Pitt with two of his fellow magistrates, wrote Arthur St. Clair, desiring that the latter should instruct the Westmoreland County sheriff to raise fifty men and come and release the three prisoners, as there were but eighteen of Connolly's men then in the Fort. On June 12th, Esquire Devereux Smith, one of the Pennsylvania magistrates, wrote from Pittsburgh to a correspondent in Philadelphia: "Mr. Connolly purposes to march from this place to-morrow with 200 men, to build a stockade fort at Weiling Creek, and another at Hawkhawkin Creek. . . . Mr. Croghan has set off this morning to Williamsburgh, as he says, to represent the state of this country to Lord Dunmore and Council, as also to acquaint them with Dr. Connolly's rash conduct at this place, which he seems to disapprove of." Soon after this date, the sheriff of Westmoreland County, with Justice George Wilson, raised a posse of men about Hannastown and proceeded to Pittsburgh, where on June 22d[1] they released the imprisoned Pennsylvania magistrates, and retaliated on the Virginians by carrying off Connolly, whom they took to St. Clair's house at Ligonier. In a letter dated June 24th, which Valentine Crawford wrote to George Washington, we have an account of this final adventure of Connolly at Pittsburgh, which is as follows:

We have chosen Committees out here, and are raising an independent Company, regulating matters the best we can; but an unhappy confusion happened the other day. The Pennsylvanians came to Fort Pitt with the Sheriff and about twenty men, and took Major Connolly about midnight, and carried him as far as Ligonier, the very night before we were to have the talk with the Indians. Several of the Pennsylvania Traders, by the Indians' story, were endeavoring to put ill into their minds. On Major Connolly's being taken, the people of Chartier's came in a company and seized three of the Pennsylvania Magistrates who were concerned in taking off Connolly—George Wilson, Joseph Spear, and Devereux Smith. They were sent in an old leaky boat down to Fort Fincastle [Wheeling] under guard. Our Court, however, had no hand in this. It was done by a mob or set of Connolly's friends who live on Chartier's Creek.

The members of our Committee wrote a very spirited letter to the

[1] Peyton's *Augusta County*, p. 126.

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gentlemen of the Pennsylvania Committee, demanding Connolly back. All signed it and sent it with an express. On its receipt they immediately sent Major Connolly back.

On the 25th of July, Connolly left Pittsburgh, on a visit to Lord Dunmore; and while on his return in November, he was seized and imprisoned at Hagerstown as an enemy to his country.

At the Convention of the Virginia Delegates held at Richmond, it was resolved, on August 7, 1775, "That Captain John Neville be directed to march with his command of one hundred men and take possession of Fort Pitt, and that said Company be in the pay of the Colony from the time of its marching."

Arthur St. Clair wrote Governor Penn from Pittsburgh, September 15th: "Curiosity led me to this place, to be present at the Treaty with the Indians, which was appointed for the 10th inst . . . the Treaty is not yet opened, as the Indians are not come in, but there are accounts of their being on the way, and well disposed. We have, however, been surprised with a manœuvre of the people of Virginia that may have a tendency to alter their disposition. About one hundred men marched here from Winchester and took possession of the Fort on the 11th, which has so much disturbed the Delegates from the [Continental] Congress [who had been sent to Fort Pitt to treat with the Indians], that they have thoughts of removing to some other place to hold the Treaty. They did everything in their power to prevent their coming to the Fort, but to no purpose . . . if something is not soon done to prevent it, the dispute must end in open violence."

Croghan, as we have seen from Esquire Smith's letter, left Fort Pitt for Williamsburg on June 12th. On June 3d the County Court had been adjourned from Fort Pitt to Staunton, the county seat of Augusta County; and it did not sit at Fort Pitt again until the following September. Croghan was back at Fort Pitt before September 2d, and presided at the second meeting of the Court, held on the 19th of that month. The last West Augusta Court in which Croghan took part was held at Fort Pitt, November 21, 1775, for the examination of Mr. Devereux Smith (one of the Pennsylvania Justices) at his house, "for the murder of Capt. George Aston, one of Connolly's militia officers," and the particular one who had made himself the most offensive to the Pennsylvania magistrates at Pittsburgh. Smith was admitted to bail, on condition that he appear at the next General Court, if he were able at that time to attend, "from the situation of his wound and state of health."

In the Haldimand Papers is to be found a "List of Persons Well-disposed to His Majesty's Government, Living on the Frontiers of Virginia," which was furnished to the British Government in 1775 by

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Lord Dunmore, and had, no doubt, been prepared by Major Connolly. The names on this list were as follows, Croghan's not being among them: "At Fort Pitt: Alexander McKee, Deputy Agent of Indian Affairs, [James] McKee, brother to Alexander, Alexander Ross, a Scotchman [whose estate was later confiscated by the Revolutionary Government], John Campbell [afterwards proved to be a patriot], Captain George Aston [killed by Esquire Smith at Fort Pitt in the summer of 1775], Lieut. William Christy, Lieut. Jacob Bousman. Indians to be heard of at Fort Pitt: White Eyes, White Mingo, Cornstalk, Kayashuta, John Montour, Logan. At the Allegheny Mountains, and to be heard of at Fort Pitt: Major William Crawford, Valentine Crawford, brother of William, John Stephenson [half-brother to the Crawfords], William Harrison [son-in-law of William Crawford], Thomas Gist and his brother."

In July, 1775, the Continental Congress created three Indian Departments, of which the one west of the Alleghany Mountains was called the "Middle Department." Richard Butler, at that time the most prominent Trader at Fort Pitt, was made Agent for this Department; and continued as such until April 10, 1776, when George Morgan, a member of the Philadelphia Indian trading firm of Baynton, Wharton & Morgan, succeeded him.

On April 8, 1776, Richard Butler wrote James Wilson from Fort Pitt:

I send this by express to inform you that Kiosota and two other Indians, messengers from Colonel [John] Butler, the King's Agent at Niagara and the Commandant of the Six Nations, with a letter to Captain [Alexander] McKee [the Deputy Indian Agent at Fort Pitt] and a message to Kiosota, arrived here the 3d inst. . . .

I called on Mr. M'Kee the 1st ultimo, and informed him that I had accounts of two messengers from Niagara, and that they had letters which I supposed must be for him; which I expected to be informed of on their arrival; . . . which he promised I should. On their arrival, Mr. M'Kee went to Colonel Croghan's, and there received his letter and the other messages already mentioned. Mr. Croghan, being Chairman of the Committee [of Safety], wrote to Mr. Thomas Smallman and Mr. John Campbell, to call on Mr. M'Kee, to see his letter, and take his parole that he would not leave the neighborhod of Pittsburgh till the next meeting of the Committee, which is to be on the 16th instant. It was shown to me, and my attendance desired, with Captain Neville, to be present. We all attended, and Mr. Smallman gave Mr. M'Kee the letter from the Chairman. And on Mr. Smallman's demanding Mr. M'Kee's letter, he immediately complied and gave it. It was read by Mr. Smallman, Campbell, and myself. His parole was then demanded, as above, which he complied with; and I forbade his sending any dispatches or doing any business with the Indians, without my knowledge, before Captain Neville, Messrs. Smallman and Grayson [misprint for Croghan?]; which he promised also not to do.

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Colonel Butler's letter to McKee ordered him to attend a meeting with the Indians which was to be held at Niagara in May, and asked for information about the proceedings of the Rebels in McKee's vicinity. It closed with Butler's compliments to Colonel Croghan.

On the following day the West Augusta Committee held a special meeting, at which Major Smallman acted as Chairman, and communicated to the Committee a letter which he had received from Colonel Croghan, the contents of which are not revealed in the report of the meeting. Alexander McKee was ordered not to transact any business with the Indians in behalf of the Crown or Ministry, nor to correspond with any of the British officers; and he gave his parole that he would not do so.

On June 13th, Captain John Neville wrote from Fort Pitt to the Virginia Committee of Safety:

> I am sorry to inform you that some of our leading men in this quarter are strongly suspected of dissatisfaction to the common Cause; as a certain Geo. Girty, who came to this place a few days ago, informs us that he met a certain Paul Long (who hath been long connected with Colo. Geo. Chroghan and Capt. Alex'r McKee) between Kuskuskie and Vinango, on his way to Niagra with ten letters. What the purport of them may be, or from whom, I cannot say; however certain it is he is gone to that place, and that in a very secret manner. But Mr. Jno. Campbell, Capt. Gibson, and myself, shall use every endeavor to intercept him on his return, and, by his answers, find out his business.[1]

On the 4th of July, 1776, the Virginia Convention of Delegates appointed sixteen Commissioners, "to take and collect evidence in behalf of Virginia against persons pretending to have claims for lands within the territory thereof, under deeds and purchases from the Indians. Two of these Commissioners, James Wood, of Frederick County, and Abraham Hite, of Hampshire County, examined George Croghan on February 27, 1777, respecting the title to the lands on the Ohio and its branches, claimed by Richard Henderson and Company (who had obtained a deed from the Cherokees to much of the present State of Kentucky, in 1775). Croghan's deposition was to the effect that the Cherokees themselves, in Croghan's presence, had acknowledged to the Six Nations chiefs at the mouth of the Scioto in 1750–51, that they knew the country between the Ohio and the Mountains belonged to the Six Nations. It is printed in the first volume of the *Virginia State Papers*. The place where this deposition was taken is not given in the report of the same; so that it is not certain whether it was at Winchester, at Fort Pitt, or at some other point. From the fact that James Wood, with Charles

[1] *Va. Hist. Mag.*, xvi., 55.

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Simm, another Commissioner, were at Fort Pitt March 10th, and took the depositions of Edward Ward, William Powell, Simon and Thomas Girty, William Crawford, and others, in the same inquisition, it is probable that Croghan's deposition was also taken at Fort Pitt or Winchester, or some point between the two places, possibly at Bedford.

Jasper Ewing wrote to his uncle, Jasper Yeates of Lancaster, from Fort Pitt, March 30, 1778: "Last Saturday night Mr. McKee, Matt. Elliott, and Simon Girty, together with one, Higgins, ran off. McKee's conduct on this occasion is of so infamous a nature that it will forever render him odious . . . his intimacy with Elliott has been very great, and 't is conjectured that Elliott brought dispatches for McKee from Quebec. As he was reputed to be a Gentn. of the strictest honour and probity, nobody had the least idea of his being capable of acting in so base a manner. A man of his capacity, and so well acquainted with the situation of our affairs in this Department, will be no unwelcome guest at Detroit."

On June 15, 1778, the Supreme Executive Council of the new State of Pennsylvania met at Lancaster and issued a Proclamation, naming some two hundred persons in the State, who "have severally adhered to and knowingly and willingly assisted the enemies of the State, and of the United States of America, by having joined their armies at Philadelphia"; and declaring that under the authority given the Council by the Assembly, for the "attainder of divers traitors if they render not themselves by a certain day," they "hereby strictly charge" the parties named, that, "not rendering himself as aforesaid and abiding the trial aforesaid, shall, from and after the first day of August, stand and be attainted of High Treason." Among the persons warned by this Proclamation were "George Croghan and Alexander McKee, formerly Indian Traders, Simon Girty, Indian Interpreter, James Girty, laborer, and Matthew Elliott, Indian Trader, all now or late of the County of Westmoreland."

In an "Alphabetical List of all Persons attainted of High Treason in pursuance of the Treason Laws of the State of Pennsylvania," prepared by John Morris, Master of the Rolls for Pennsylvania, November 28, 1783, the name of George Croghan appears, with the statement, "Surrendered and discharged."

On December 24, 1778, Croghan wrote from Lancaster to Bernard Gratz, of Philadelphia, one of his friends and principal creditors at that time: "Inclosed I hand you all the papers necessary to setle Mr. Peters's acounts with me & fulfill my contract with Doctr. Smith [Doctor William Smith had bought from him the land on which is located the present city of Huntingdon, and perhaps other lands.] There is the two contracts, the list of locations and warrants, ye names of ye persons

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in whose names taken out, ye returns of ye survase made by Mr. Tod & certifyd by him, ye award of ye arbitreators on the second contract, with there returns of the quantity I was to be paid," etc. At the conclusion of this letter, Croghan wishes his friend the compliments of the season, and adds: "The mackerale, read herring, and oysters you sent me was very good. I wish I had a few more."

In a sketch of Croghan's life, furnished by Isaac Craig and printed in the fourth volume of *Egle's Notes and Queries*, Mr. Craig states that "in April, 1780, he was a resident of Lancaster, and the following June, of Passayunk, where he conveyed to Joseph Wharton his then remaining interests in his lands at Otsego County, N. Y."

On June 3, 1780, Croghan wrote, probably from Passyunk, to Michael Gratz, of Philadelphia:

SIR—A gentleman was with me yesterday to purchase them lots in Popler Lane, wh. I intended to give you a lase of; but as ye man you expected is not come, nor can't till after harvest, I hope it will be no disappointment to you. This gentleman has made me a generous ofer, & will take up the mordige, & the lands from me on the Ohio for ye ballance of what ever ye mordige will amount to more than ye lands will come to, which is a flatering circumstance. I will tell you ye ofer when I see you.[1]

The will of George Croghan, "late of Pittsburgh," was dated at Passyunk, June 12, 1782; and proved in Albany County, New York, September 3, 1782. He mentions his nephew, John Ward; his kinsmen, William Powell and Thomas Smallman; his friend, "formerly my clerk," John Campbell of Pittsburgh (afterwards the founder of Louisville); and his daughter, Susannah, wife of Augustin Prevost; also, lands on Robinson Run and on Chartier Creek (both near Pittsburgh). The executors named in the will were Bernard and Michael Gratz, of Philadelphia, merchants; Thomas Smallman, and William Powell, coppersmith, of Pittsburgh; and James Innis, of Washington County, Pa.

On May 3, 1785, a claim was presented at the New York Land Office, by "Aaron Burr, in behalf of Bernard Gratz, Michael Gratz, Thomas Smallman, William Powell, and James Innes, executors of Geo. Croghan, dec'd, Augustine Prevost and Susannah, his wife, sole devisee of said Geo. Croghan, for all that tract of land, beg. at mouth of Adiga Creek [in Otsego County], thence along line of purchase of Thomas Wharton and others till it joins the corner of Geo. Croghan's purchase," etc. On August 8th this claim was withdrawn from the Land Office.

Mr. Edgar W. Hassler, in his *Old Westmoreland*, says that "the man of most influence in this community [Fort Pitt] was the *fat old*

[1] Original in the Emmet Collection, N. Y. Public Library.

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Trader and Indian Agent, Colonel George Croghan, who lived on a pretentious plantation about four miles up the Allegheny River. He was an Irishman by birth *and an Episcopalian by religion*, when he permitted religion to trouble him."

In the Sixth Series of the *Pennsylvania Archives* (xii., 11) is printed an inventory of the escheated estate of Alexander Ross of Fort Pitt, in Westmoreland County, made in February, 1784. Ross was a Loyalist, who had been found guilty of High Treason in 1778, and his estate confiscated. Among the effects were two promissory notes, one made by Thomas Smallman and George Croghan, August 12, 1774, for £224. 7s. 2d; and the other made by George Croghan, July 15, 1775, for £280. 15s. 1d. The appraisers of the Ross Estate affixed the following notes of explanation after the record of these two items: after the first, "Sued for, and removed to Supreme Court"; and after the second, "Dead, and no Property."

Gage had written of him: "Croghan is generous; gives all he has, and whilst he has anything to give, the Indians will flock about him."

It has sometimes been stated that George Croghan and William Trent were brothers-in-law. How they became so is not clear. William Trent's only sister, Mary, married Nathaniel French, of Philadelphia. Trent himself married Sarah Wilkins, possibly a daughter of one of the Indian Traders of that name. Croghan's nephew, it will be remembered, was Doctor John Connolly, the Loyalist. Connolly was the son of John Connolly, Sr., a native of Ireland, and of Susanna Howard, sister of Gordon Howard, one of the early Indian Traders of Lancaster County. She first married James Patterson, the Trader, and after his death, Dr. Thomas Ewing, of Lancaster. John Connolly, Sr., was her third husband. Doctor Connolly, their son, married Susanna Semple, daughter of Samuel Semple, the innkeeper of Fort Pitt, who furnished Washington such good entertainment in 1770. If Croghan's wife was a Wilkins, and sister to William Trent's wife, it is possible she also may have been a sister to Samuel Semple's wife, the mother of Susanna Connolly; and this would have made Connolly Croghan's nephew, by marriage. The name of Croghan's own daughter, as shown by his will, was Susanna; which was also the Christian name of Connolly's mother, as well as that of his wife. But it is difficult to see how Croghan could have been a brother-in-law to Trent, who married Sarah Wilkins, and also to John Connolly, Sr., who married Susanna Howard, the widow of Doctor Ewing, unless, indeed, Sarah Wilkins and Susanna Howard may have been half-sisters, and one of them Croghan's wife's sister.

We have seen from what has been printed in the earlier part of this chapter, and from the abstract of Croghan's will, that he was a half-brother to Major Edward Ward, the man who surrendered the Virginia

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Fort to the French in 1754; and that he was also a cousin to Major Thomas Smallman, another prominent Trader at Fort Pitt; and also a kinsman to William Powell. It is unlikely, though not impossible, that Croghan and John Connolly, Sr., were also half-brothers.

George Croghan, the Indian Trader, has been many times confused by writers with another and younger man of the same name, Major George Croghan, nephew of George Rogers Clark, for whom he was named. The younger man took a prominent part in the War of 1812. He was a son of Major William Croghan, of Virginia. Mr. Walton, in his recent *Life of Conrad Weiser*, has gone so far as to print a picture of the younger George Croghan, taken in the regimentals of an American officer, and labelled it as George Croghan the Indian Trader, who, in 1758, fought as a British officer under Sir William Johnson.

It is erroneously stated in Craig's sketch of Croghan, which Dr. Egle printed in his *Notes and Queries*, as well as by Darlington and other writers, that Croghan's daughter, Susanna, married the Augustine Prevost who was later a Major General in the British army. Her husband was Lieutenant Augustine Prevost, a son of the General of the same name. Darlington says that she died at Millgrove, Montgomery County, Penna., in March, 1791.

Augustine Prevost, Jr., was born in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1744, and died at "Hush Hush Farm" at the foot of the Catskill Mountains in January, 1822. He married (first) Susanna Croghan, by whom he had six surviving children. After the death of his first wife, Major Prevost married a Miss Bogardus of New York, by whom he had a large family.[1]

Mention has already been made of a Quaker letter, written from Easton in reference to the Treaty at that place in October, 1758, and printed as an appendix to Charles Thomson's *Alienation of the Delawares*. In this letter the writer speaks of the Mohawk Chief, Nichos (Nickas, or *Karaghtadie*, of Canajoharie), as the father-in-law of Croghan, thus showing that the latter, on settling in the Mohawk Valley, had followed the example set by Sir William Johnson in taking to wife an Indian maiden. By this woman Croghan seems to have had a second daughter, Catharine (1759–1837), who became the third wife of Joseph Brant, the celebrated Mohawk Chieftain of the Revolutionary period. In his *Indian Biographies*, Drake refers to this alliance as follows:

Colonel Brant was married, in the Winter of 1779, to a daughter of Colonel Croghan by an Indian woman. He had lived with her some time *ad libitum*, according to the Indian manner, but at this time, being

[1] See *Penna. Mag.*, viii., 306, where Mr. G. D. Scull states that "this American branch of the Prevost Family is now [1884] represented by Mr. Theodore L. Prevost, of Greene County, New York."

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present at the wedding of a Miss Moore, at Niagara (one of the captives taken from Cherry Valley) insisted on being married himself; and thus his consort's name was no longer Miss Croghan, but Mrs. Brant. The ceremony was performed by his companion-in-arms, Colonel John Butler, who, although he had left his country, carried so much of his magistrate's commission with him, as to solemnize marriages according to law.

In quoting the foregoing passage, Mr. Isaac Craig states that this couple had seven children, named, Joseph, [the eldest, born 1783], Jacob, [who succeeded to the *Tekarihoken*, or first titular chieftainship of the Mohawks in right of his mother], Margaret, Catharine, Mary, and Elizabeth (who married William Johnson Kerr[1]). Stone, in his *Life of Brant*, does not mention this marriage, although he states that Brant was married three times, his first and second wives being sisters, and daughters of an Oneida Chief. He also states that Brant's bosom friend and companion in Cherry Valley was Lieutenant John [Augustine] Prevost, of the British army, and that this friendship was interrupted, much to Brant's sorrow, only when Lieutenant Prevost was ordered to join his regiment [in Jamaica, in 1772–73]. As this Lieutenant Prevost was George Croghan's son-in-law, Brant's friendship for Prevost afterwards became relationship.

Brant himself, who was born on the banks of the Ohio River in 1742, and was probably the son of an Indian woman by one of the Pennsylvania or Virginia Traders, or by some other white man,[2] thus in time became the uncle of Sir William Johnson's children, and the father of George Croghan's grandchildren.

[1] A daughter of Sir William Johnson by Mary Brant married Dr. Robert Kerr (a surgeon in the British Army), and they were the parents of William Johnson Kerr.

[2] According to Drake, Jared Sparks thought he was the son of Sir William Johnson. See *Book of the Indians*, v., 81; also, Chapman's *Wyoming*, 121.

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CHAPTER III

THE OHIO VALLEY BEFORE THE WHITE MAN CAME

IN the introduction to his *Christopher Gist's Journals*, the late Mr. William M. Darlington stated that, in 1729, Chaussegros de Lery, Sr., chief military engineer of Canada, with a detachment of troops, crossed from Lake Erie to Chautauqua Lake and thence by Conewango Creek to the Allegheny River, descending it and the Ohio, and making a careful topographical survey of the course of the rivers, with observations of the latitude, longitude, and distance, as far as the Great Miami. De Lery was a French military engineer who built the fortifications at Niagara in 1726–27.[1] Darlington was mistaken in saying that De Lery went only as far as to the Great Miami.

The first white traveller in the Ohio Valley was probably Arnold Viele, the Dutch Trader, from Albany, who reached the Ohio in 1692 and spent the year 1693 on its waters.

The evidence as to La Salle having explored any other tributary of the Ohio than (possibly) the Wabash bears so many marks of having been fabricated after 1684, for the purpose of strengthening the French claims to the Ohio Valley, that it seems to the writer only a question of time when that evidence must be declared to be wholly false.

Parkman and Margry based La Salle's purported discovery of the Upper Ohio upon four supposed pieces of documentary proof, which may be summarized as follows:

First, the "Recital of a Friend of the Abbé Galinee" (printed in Vol. I., one of Margry's Collections), which asserts that La Salle discovered both the Ohio and the Mississippi in 1670–71, and descended the Mississippi to the 36th degree of latitude. Parkman himself proves this witness to be a false one so far as the discovery of the Mississippi goes, and asserts that the writer of the *Recital* was mistaken also in stating

[1] For an account of De Lery at Niagara see Frank H. Severance's "Story of Joncaire" in vol. ix., *Publications Buffalo Historical Society*; *Calendar Canadian Archives*, 1887, clxxxiii. cxc.

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that La Salle's exploration of the Ohio carried him only as far south as to the 41st degree of latitude (which is that of the head of the Wabash).[1]

Second, the Memorial addressed to Count Frontenac in 1677, which Parkman ascribed to La Salle himself, although it speaks of him in the third person, and may have been written by another hand. The author of this paper states that La Salle followed the Ohio until he came to a point, in the 37th degree of latitude, where it fell from a great height into a vast marsh. Mr. Parkman intimates that this writer, too, was mistaken, in giving the latitude as 37 degrees (which is that of the mouth of the Ohio); also, in saying that the river there fell into a vast marsh; and indeed, in speaking of a *fort haut* at all. Parkman thinks the Louisville Rapids were meant to be described. The reader can judge for himself whether or not the description given by Frontenac's memoralist fits them. They have a total fall of twenty-seven feet over a course of two and one-half miles.

Third, purported contemporary copies of Joliet's maps of 1674–80, on some of which the Ohio River has been drawn in by later hands, with the inscription that this was the stream by which La Salle descended to go to Mexico. Joliet's earliest map and his so-called *Carte Generale* (really made by Franquelin, La Salle's geographer) do not show the Ohio River above its mouth. One contemporary copy, of which Winsor prints a reproduction and calls it Joliet's Larger Map, shows the mouth of the Ohio (called by Joliet, the Wabash), with the upper course of the stream interpolated by so clumsy a hand that the change is apparent even in the cheap printed copy—the lines of the later draughtsman crossing both the vignette and the lines indicating the mouth of the River on the original. In what Winsor calls Joliet's Smaller Map, the legend inserted above the Ohio recites that it was by this stream La Salle descended, *after coming out from Lake Erie, in order to go to Mexico.* As La Salle did not explore Lake Erie until after 1670, it is not probable that he went from there to the Ohio in 1669; and as he made no plans to go to Mexico until 1684, two years after he had explored the Mississippi, it is probable that these legends were not written until after that date. Even if they were genuine, they would seem to refer to a descent from Lake Erie to the Ohio by the Maumee–Wabash portage route.

Parkman also lays great stress on the data contained in another map, anonymous and without date, a copy of which is Map No. 3 of his collection. It is reproduced by Winsor, and called by him the "Map of the Basin of the Great Lakes." Parkman thought it was made in 1673, and before Joliet's descent of the Mississippi; but it bears internal evidence of having been made at least ten years later.

[1] Major, Shea, and Winsor, have questioned the authenticity of this *Recital* and Winsor reflects on the honesty of M. Margry himself.

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The Ohio is made to run into the Wabash at the source of the latter, and there are two legends written above the connected rivers. The upper part is named "Riviere Ohio, so-called because of its beauty," while the Wabash part is called "Riviere Ohio, so named by the Iroquois because of its beauty, by which le Sr. de la Salle descended." Dr. Shea rightly places this map after the time of La Salle's descent of the Mississippi in 1682, "as the Ohio at its mouth was not recognized at that time [1673] as the Ohio of the Iroquois." It was supposed indeed, to be a source of the Wabash, or a tributary of the "Chucagoa," and is so shown on many of the French maps before and after 1682.

Fourth, La Salle's papers and maps in the hands of his niece immediately before 1756 are said, by Margry, to have contained probable references to a journey down the Ohio River in 1669–70. In view of the bitter arguments and disputes which took place from 1750 to 1754 between the Court of Great Britain and that of France over the western boundary line of the British Provinces in America, and which finally culminated in war, it is not to be believed that if any such genuine proofs were to be found among the papers of La Salle, they would not have been secured by the French Government and used in that crisis to support the pretensions of France to the disputed territory. For the same reason, it is easy to believe that much evidence was then manufactured for the sole purpose of bolstering up the French claims. One instance of this kind of false evidence has just been cited, in the case of the alterations in the copies of Joliet's maps. If La Salle's niece had possession of all the copies of his letters and maps in 1756, she would then have had a copy of his letter and map, inscribed August 22, 1681 (or 1682), and sent, probably, to the Abbé Bernou, in which La Salle himself described the Maumee River as being "without doubt the passage into the Ohio or Allegheny."[1] If the explorer had descended the Ohio to the Louisville Rapids in 1669–70, it is hardly possible that he would have written those words in 1682. It is not improbable that some of La Salle's maps may have been known to the French Government, maps which revealed no direct knowledge of the Ohio. If such there were, it is easy to understand why they were not made known to the public.

Finally, the writings of La Salle himself do not show that he had any first hand knowledge of the Ohio; nor do they contain any statement that he ever explored the Ohio; but they do contain several statements indicating that his knowledge of that river was indefinite and uncertain.

The "Memoir on the Discoveries of La Salle to the south and west of the Great Lakes," presented to Seignelay by a friend of the explorer in 1681, is cited by Parkman as containing a direct acknowledgement

[1] Margry, ii., 243.

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of Joliet's discovery of the Mississippi. Of this *Memoir* Parkman observes that it was the writer's object to place La Salle and his achievements in the most favorable light. This being undoubtedly the truth, it is quite significant that no claim is made in that paper of La Salle's discovery of the Ohio; although it does refer explicitly to his expedition of 1669 (to the Seneca country) with Dollier and Galinee.

In his letter of September 29, 1680, written, possibly, at Mackinac, La Salle speaks of the Ohio as affording a better means of communication between the Illinois country and Fort Frontenac than the route by way of the Illinois portage and the Great Lakes. He refers to the Ohio as *une riviere que j'ai trouvee.* "This River," he proceeds, "which I call the Baudrane, the Iroquois name Ohio, and the Ottawas, Olighinsipou. . . . This River Baudrane rises behind Oneida, and after flowing about four hundred and fifty leagues towards the West, almost always equally large, and more, than the Seine opposite Rouen, and much deeper, discharges itself into the River Colbert, twenty to twenty-five leagues south-south-west of the mouth by which the river of the Illinois flows into the same stream."[1]

There is nothing in this description which La Salle had not learned from the Senecas at La Chine, before he set off for their country in 1669, excepting the statement that the Ohio enters the Mississippi (Colbert) twenty to twenty-five leagues below the mouth of the Illinois.

In the *Relation des Decouvertes et des Voyages du Sieur de la Salle . . . 1679–80–81*, made by Colbert's order, which Parkman calls the official account of the explorer's operations in those years, the writer states that La Salle made divers voyages of discovery, "sometimes with Frenchmen, sometimes with Indians; and likewise with M.M. Dollier and Galinee, priests of the seminary of St. Sulpice, in the year 1669; but a violent fever obliged him to quit them at the beginning." If La Salle had descended the Ohio at that time, as Parkman and Margry assert that he did, here was the one place where mention would certainly have been made of it; but the "official account" expressly states that he was obliged to abandon the expedition on account of his fever.

Tonty, who accompanied La Salle to the mouth of the Mississippi in 1682, tells in his *Relation*, that, after having left the village of the Tamaroa, "we camped two leagues below, in order to hunt; we killed there some deer and then continued our journey and found, forty leagues from there, upon the left, a river called Oyo by the Iroquois and which, coming from the rear of the country of said Iroquois, must be from five to six hundred leagues in length."

It is not credible that if La Salle had descended the Ohio in 1669–70,

[1] Margry, ii., 80.

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Tonty, his trusted lieutenant, would not have known of it in 1682, at the time they passed its mouth.

Nicholas de la Salle, who also accompanied the expedition to the mouth of the Mississippi in 1682, has left a narrative of the journey, in which he writes of the Ohio as follows: "On the following day, after having travelled eleven leagues, at one o'clock in the afternoon, on the left, we came upon the mouth of the River Saint Louis, or Ouabache, or Chicagoua. This river, coming from the land of the Iroquois, had led to the belief that by following its course, a way to China could be found."

This belief had been held by La Salle in 1669, and it was probably from him that Nicholas de la Salle learned of the belief; but if La Salle had descended the river in 1669 or afterwards, it is likely that his namesake would have learned of that fact too, and mentioned it.

In his letter of August 22, 1682, La Salle speaks of the Maumee (which he calls the Tiotontaraeton) as being without doubt the passage from Lake Erie to the Ohio or Olighin-sipou; thus confusing the Ohio with the Wabash.

La Salle's *proces-verbal*, dated at the mouth of the Mississippi, April 9, 1682, describes Louisiana as extending from the mouth of "the grand river Saint Louis, from the coasts of the East, called otherwise Ohio, Olighinsipou, or Chukagoa." But in his description of the rivers and peoples of the countries he had discovered, written, within the two years following his descent of the Mississippi, La Salle says that the "Chucagoa, is the river which we call the River Saint Louis. The River Ohio is one of its branches, which receives the waters of two other large rivers before discharging into the River Saint Louis, namely, the Agouassake [a tributary of the Wabash] from the North and the River of the Chaouesnons from the South. . . . This River [the Saint Louis] is much wider in all that extent of country, than the Colbert [Mississippi] River. *I have not yet been able to explore it.*"

The reader of British history who is familiar with the story of the controversy which took place between England and Scotland for a few years after 1290, growing out of the claim of suzerainty which Edward I. asserted over Scotland, will remember that the English at that time did not hesitate to make changes in their original manuscript copies of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle itself, for the purpose of strengthening the paper title which Edward set up to the land north of the Tweed.[1]

Franquelin's 1684 "Map of Louisiana, or the Voyages of La Salle . . . in 1679–80–81, and '82" (of which a reproduction is given on the following leaf), shows a very direct and minute knowledge of La Salle's settlements at Fort St. Louis, on the Illinois, most of which knowledge must have been obtained by Franquelin from La Salle himself. But it shows

[1] See Robertson, *Scotland Under Her Early Kings.*

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a confused and erroneous idea of the Ohio Valley, and one that would scarcely have been embodied in this map if La Salle had had any direct personal knowledge of the Ohio to communicate to Franquelin. What knowledge he had was probably obtained from Shawnee and other Indians who had lived in the Ohio Valley. The map does, however, differentiate between the Ohio and the Wabash, showing the two rivers as distinct and separate streams, although it makes both of them flow into the present Tennessee River, and makes the latter, under the name of the "River St. Louis, or Chucagoa, or Casquinampogamou,"[1] to flow into the Mississippi.

Two heads of the Wabash are shown, both rising near the southwestern extremity of Lake Erie, the lower one bearing the name, "Agouassake." South of the junction of these two streams, a tributary enters the Wabash from the east, called the "Oiapikaming" (*i.e.*, White River, still so called).

Between the Upper Forks of the Casquinampogamou are located three Cherokee villages, bearing the names, "Tchalaka," "Cattogui," (*Katowagi* was the Shawnee name for the Cherokees) and "Taligui,"—the last name being identical in sound with the Talligewi of Lenape tradition as given by Heckewelder.

The first tributary entering the Casquinampogamou from the north, below its Upper Forks, is called the "Misseouecipi" (not the present Mississippi: that stream Franquelin called the Colbert); with an unnamed Indian village located on its north bank. Below this stream, a second tributary enters the main river, also coming from the north, which is called the "Skipaki-cipi, ou la Rivière Bleue."[2] This is obviously a Shawnee word, and the river to which it was intended to be applied was undoubtedly the stream known later as the "Shawnee River," now the Cumberland. The Kispicotha or Kispokotha is one of the five divisions of the Shawnee tribe even down to the present day. The word is also spelled Kespicotha, Kiscapocoke, Kiscopokes, Kiskapocoke, Kispogogi, Kispoko, Kiskapookes, etc. The Shawnee town of Eskippakithiki (*thiki* means "place; *cipi* or *theepee*, river"), located on Lewis Evans's map of 1755 as being on the Great Warriors' Trail, between the mouth of the Scioto and the Red River branch of the Kentucky, thus bore a name practically identical with that by which the Cumberland River was known to the Shawnees at the time of La Salle's descent of the Mississippi.

Half-way between the two rivers, Misseouecipi and Skipakicipi, on

[1] On one of De l'Isle's maps the Tennessee River is called *Riviere des Casquinambaux ou Cheroquis*. The name "Casquinampo" probably comes from the "Casqui" or "Casquin" Indians referred to by some of the chroniclers of De Soto's expedition.

[2] A similar name—Bluestone—is applied to one of the western heads of New River on Fry and Jefferson's map of 1751.

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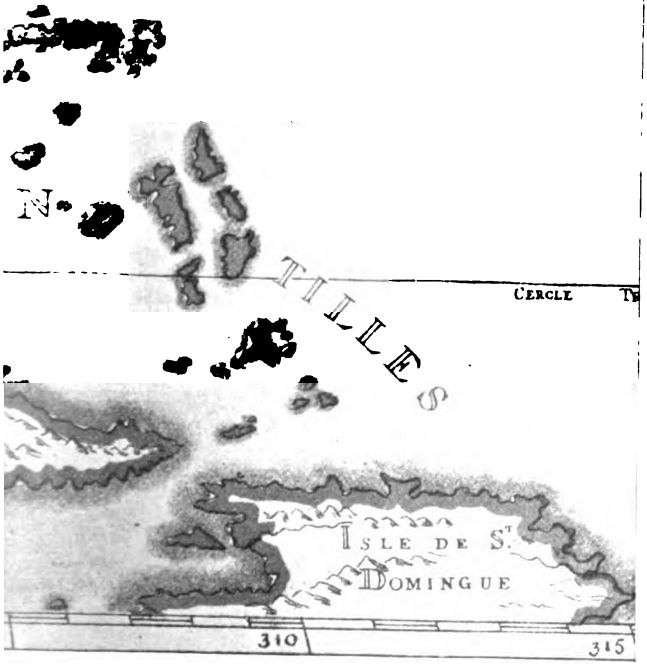
CARTE
DE LA
OUISIANE
OU
OYAGES DU S.r DE LA SALLE
pays qu'il a decouverts depuis la
lle France jusqu'au Golfe Mexique,
es anneés 1679. 80. 81 & 82.
JEAN BAPTISTE LOUIS FRANQUELIN
L'AN 1684.
Paris



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Franquelin's map, is located the Indian Town of "Cisca," and a path is shown leading from that town in a southeastern direction to St. Petro on the east coast of Florida (north of St. Augustine). Beneath this path is written the legend: *Chemin par les Casquinampo et les. Chaouenons vont en traite aux Espagnols*—Path travelled by the Casquinampos and Shawnees, in trading with the Spaniards. "Cisca" may have been the name of a Shawnee town, and the seat of a Kiscapocoke band of that tribe. The Ciscas and other Shawnees from the same vicinity joined La Salle at Fort St. Louis in 1683.

On the north bank of the Skipakicipi River, Franquelin locates another town, named "Meguatchaiki." This, also, was doubtless a Shawnee town of the Mequachake Clan (variants, *ch* guttural, Machachac, Machichac, Mackacheck, Mackacheek, Maguck, Magueck, Magwa, Makostrake, Maquichees, Mequachake, Maqueechaick, etc.)

A short distance west of Meguatchaiki, Franquelin locates the town of "Chaskepe."[1] This, too, may have been a town of the Shawnees, and the name another variant of the word Kiscapo (Kispokotha). In the chapter on the Shawnees, attention has already been called to the letter written by La Salle to Governor La Barre from Fort St. Louis, April 2, 1693, stating, "that the Chouenons, Chaskpe, and Ouabans, have, at his solicitation, abandoned the Spanish trade, and also nine or ten villages they occupied, for the purpose of becoming French, and settling near Fort St. Louis. The Chaskpe, of course, were the same as the Chaskepe of the Cumberland River Valley. They were probably of the Kispoko or Kispogogi Clan of the Shawnee tribe.[2] The Ouabans, or Wabans, were doubtless a band of Mohicans or Eastern Lenape, whose generic name was Wabanaki (*Wapaneu*, easterly).

[1] De Soto visited the village of Chisca in the Cherokee country in 1541. The word is used by La Salle as a synonym for Chaskepe. See Margry ii., 314, 318. Mr. James Mooney thinks the Chaskpe may possibly have been a minor clan of the Miami.

[2] Gatschet writes of Tukabatchi, a town of the Upper Creeks, on the Tallapoosa River, one and one-half miles below its falls, whose original inhabitants were of an alien tribe, afterwards amalgamated with the Creeks: "The town anciently was known under two other names: *Ispokogi*, or *Italua Ispokogi*, said to mean 'town of survivors,' or 'surviving town, remnant of a town,' and *Italua Fatcha-sige*." Milfort says (p. 265) that nearly about the same time that the Alibamons were admitted into the Creek Confederacy, "an Indian tribe which had just been destroyed [scattered] by the Iroquois and the Hurons came to ask protection of the Muskoquis, whom I shall now call Creeks. The Creeks received them, and gave them lands in the centre of the Nation. They built a town which is at this day [1802] of some importance, and which is called Tuket Batchet, from the name of the tribe." Judge Force, in commenting on this passage (*Indians of Ohio*), suggests that it is within possibility that the Tukaubatchies were a surviving remnant of the Eries. The resemblance of Ispokogi, one of the names of their town, to Kispogogi, the name of one of the Shawnee clans, suggests the probability that the "Tuket Batchets" were Shawnees.

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We have, therefore, set down on Franquelin's Map of 1684, from information furnished largely by La Salle himself, the exact localities from which the 200 Shawnee warriors and their families removed in 1683 to join La Salle at Fort St. Louis. That is to say, this map shows that the Shawnees in 1682 lived north of the Cumberland River, within the limits of what is now the State of Kentucky.

The next tributary shown on Franquelin's map as entering the Casquinampogamou River west of the Skipakicipi, is the "Ohio, als. Mosopelea-cipi, als. Olighin." These were the three names given to the true Ohio River by the Iroquois; by the Illinois, Miamis, and probably the Shawnees; and by the Ottawas. Its source is given as southeast of the Oneida village, in the country of the Iroquois, and not far from the source of the Delaware. It flows south of the Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca villages, receiving affluents from the direction of the Oneidas and Onondagas. It runs from east to west, parallel with the eastern half of the south shore of Lake Erie, and then turns to the southwest, continuing the latter course until it enters the Casquinampogamou some three degrees above the mouth of the Wabash.

On the north bank of the Ohio, south of Lake Erie, Franquelin locates a number of village sites, which are all marked as having been destroyed. Directly south of the eastern shore of the lake is the first of these settlements, "Kentaienton-ga [*ga*, from *haga?*—Mohawk for "people"; or the locative for "place"?] 19 v. detruits." The names of two of the villages of the Erie tribe, which was driven from the southern shore of Lake Erie by the Iroquois in 1656, were Rique (or Rigue[1]) and Gentaienton.[2] The Kentaienton-ga of Franquelin's map is therefore the same as the Gentaienton of the Jesuit chroniclers. *Kentaienton* is an Iroquois term, meaning "many fields," or "prairies."

West of the Kentaientonga village sites, and south of what may be intended for the present Cuyahoga Bay, Franquelin locates the "Oniassont-ke, [*ke*, the Iroquois locative "at"; Mohawk, *ge*] 2 v. detruits." On most other early maps which have come under the notice of the writer, the Oniasontke people are located south of the Ohio River. This tribe will be considered in the next chapter.

Some distance below the Oniassontke, and beyond the southwest bend of the river, Franquelin shows, on the north bank, "Casa, 1 v. detruit." *Casa* was an early Mohawk word for "mouth." It may be intended for the name of an Indian tribe; or, it may mean only, "cabins destroyed."

About half-way between the southwest bend and the junction of the Ohio with the Chucagoa, and directly south of the western shore of

[1] *Jesuit Relations*, xlii., 187.

[2] *Ibid.*, xlii., 197; lviii., 75; lxi., 195, 270.

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Lake Erie, Franquelin locates the "Mosapelea, 8 vil. detruits" (destroyed). The territory in which these villages are placed is undoubtedly intended for that of the Muskingum, Scioto, and Miami valleys, where so many palisade embankments, earth fortifications, and burial, totem, so-called temple, and other mounds of the former Indian inhabitants are found at the present day. Mosapelea was therefore the name applied by the Indians to this district at and before the time when the Shawnees who lived near there first became known to La Salle and to recorded history. Much of his knowledge of the Ohio Valley was in all probability obtained by La Salle from these Shawnees from the Cumberland Valley who joined him at Fort St. Louis in 1683; and at the same time when they gave him the information about the Cumberland and Tennessee valleys of which more or less is embodied in Franquelin's map.

This map also shows a *vil. detruite* of the "Antouaronons," located on the south shore of Lake Erie, between Sandusky Bay and the mouth of the Maumee, as now known. This was probably a village of the Aondironon, a tribe mentioned in the Jesuit *Relation* for 1640, being that part of the Neutral Nation living nearest the Hurons—which was destroyed or dispersed by the Iroquois in 1648, some of them being driven south of Lake Erie, where they probably met the fate of the Eries in 1655–56.[1]

All these villages destroyed which are shown on Franquelin's map of 1684 were probably destroyed within the lifetime of the Shawnees and Ciscas who gave their history to La Salle, and doubtless we would be not far from the truth in believing that they were all destroyed by the Iroquois after 1654, the time of the beginning of their wars with the Eries. These wars against the Eries and the later wars against the Shawnees were finished within twenty years; as Charlevoix gives the date of the final conquest of the Shawnees as 1672. We are probably safe, therefore, in assuming that at least three groups of the villages destroyed north of the Ohio River in that period, as shown on this map, were the towns of the Eries, the Neutrals, and of the pre-historic inhabitants of southern Ohio; those of the latter comprising the nine villages of Casa and Mosopelea (or Mosapelea).

In a letter written by La Salle to one of his friends in France, relating his operations from August 22, 1680, to the autumn of 1681, he speaks of his efforts to induce the Illinois and Miami Indians to settle their villages near his station on the Illinois River, in January and February, 1681. "Meanwhile," he adds, "a Chaouenon captain, who commands five hundred warriors and lives on a great river which empties into the Ohio, and from there into the Mississippi, having learned of my arrival [at Fort Crevecœur], sent to me to ask the protection of the

[1] See Howe's *Ohio*, ii., 522; *Ohio Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xvii., 360.

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King. I gave him the same reply I had given the Islinois, that if he wished to join me that autumn, to go to the sea, I would after that assure him of the protection of the King; but that, his country not being accessible to us because of its great distance, I could not promise it to him in Canada. He agreed to my proposition, and ought to be at the entrance of the said river at the beginning of autumn, with as many men as possible."[1]

La Salle wrote to Governor La Barre, from Fort St. Louis, April 2, 1683, telling of his negotiations with the western tribes, and stating that he had "found near here the Chouanons, Chaskpe, and Ouabano, who have come with an Indian named Pepamany, whom I sent to invite them to leave the Spanish trade and to come and establish themselves here. They inhabit there nine or ten villages, which they have abandoned in order to become French. . . . I was obliged . . . to do the same thing at Fort St. Louis [as at Fort Frontenac], and to give to the inhabitants the liberty of occupying the vicinity. I acquitted myself of this obligation in part by placing there the Chaouesnons, Chaskpe, and Ouabano; and I depart presently to go four hundred leagues from here, south by southwest, to seek nine villages of the Cicaca [Chickasaw], and to invite them to follow the example of their allies."

Another letter of La Salle's, written, probably, to the Abbe Bernou, and bearing date August 22, 1681 (or 1682), has already been referred to in a former chapter. This is the letter in which La Salle gives it as his opinion that the "Tiotontaraeton" River, emptying into the western extremity of Lake Erie, is "certainly the passage to go to the Ohio or Olighinsipou." He also speaks of the beaver trade at Fort Frontenac, and incidentally of the Ohio tribes which were destroyed or driven away by the Iroquois, in these words:

"The trade of Fort Frontenac is carried on within the extent of the lake of the same name with the Iroquois, who live in the environs, and who never trade but with New England, formerly called New Holland, at Albany, formerly called Orange, a place distant about seventeen or eighteen leagues from the last canton of the Iroquois, called Agnie [Mohawks]. The reason for their not coming down into our habitations at all, is, that those who go to hunt the beaver, finding few on the north coast of the lake, where they are now rare, go to seek for them towards the South, at the west of Lake Erie, where they abound; because, before the destruction of the Islinois and of the Kentaienton-ga [inhabitants of the Erie village, Kentaienton] and Ganeiens-gaa[2] [Gachnawas-haga or

[1] Margry, i., 529; ii., 142–43.

[2] Bruyas gives the definition of this Mohawk word: *ganniense*—as *derober du ble*, "to shell corn"; *gannien*, "to yelp"; and *ganniensera*, *batte feu*, or "fire striker."

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Gannaouens, *i.e.*, the Kanawahas, later known as Conoys, Ganawese, etc.] whom the Iroquois subdued in a year; the Chaouanons, Ouabachi, Tiotontaraeton-ga [Totontaraton-ga?[1]], Gandostoge-ga [Susquehannocks], *Mosopelea*, Sounikae-ronons [Oniasontke-ronons], and Ochiatagon-ga [Ochateguins, Champlain's name for the Hurons], whom they also overthrew in a few years, they did not dare to hunt in quarters over-run by so many enemies, who have the same apprehension of the Iroquois and are little accustomed to trading in the skins of these animals, only carrying on commerce with the English very rarely, because they are not able to go without much trouble, time, and risk."

Perhaps the earliest reference to the Ohio Valley to be found on the English maps is that contained in one of the legends on Augustine Herrman's map of Virginia and Maryland, dated 1670, and published in 1673. The reference in the legend is to the mountain range now known as the Alleghanies. It reads as follows: "These mighty high and great mountains, trenching N.E. and S.W. and W.S.W., is supposed to be the very middle Ridge of Northern America, and the only naturall cause of the fierceness and extreame stormy cold winds that come from N.W., thence all over this Continent, and makes frost. And, as Indians reports, from the other side Westwards doe the rivers take their origin, all issuing out into the West Sea; especially, first discovered a very great River, called the Black Mincquas River, out of which, above the Sasquahana forte, meetes a branch some leagues distance, opposit to one another out of the Sasquahana River [the West Branch, or the Juniata], where formerly those Black Mincquas came over and as far as Delaware to trade; but the Sasquahana and Sinnicus Indians went over and destroyed that very great Nation; and whether the same River comes out into the Bay of Mexico of the West Sea, is not known."[2]

Were the Black Mincquas identical with the Eries, the Oniasontke, or the Mosopelea?

The eight destroyed villages of the Mosopelea, which Franquelin locates on the north bank of the Ohio or Mosopeleacipi, and which La Salle says were destroyed by the Iroquois, are of especial interest in connection with the present inquiry.

The word with the last meaning was the tribal name of the Mohawks. It is probable that the Conoys were nothing more than "corn-shellers" to the Iroquois. Lamberville wrote from Onondaga August 25, 1682, that two Gannaouen women had been brought from Maryland while he was there, tortured with a slow fire, burned with hot irons, and afterwards eaten.

[1] Mentioned as one of the sedentary tribes south of the Lakes by the Jesuit, Vimont, in the *Relation* for 1640.

[2] See Vol. I., pp. 16, 69, 76, etc.

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On Marquette's map of 1673–74, that traveller locates a "Monsoupelea" village on the east bank of the Mississippi below the mouth of the "Ouabouskigou" (Ohio), and about one third of the distance between that stream and the mouth of the Arkansas. On Joliet's map of 1674, a "Mounsouperia" village is located on the same side of the Mississippi, but some distance below the mouth of the Arkansas, and opposite the "Tahensa." On Thevenot's map of a few years later, "Monsouperia" and "Monoupera" villages are indicated in both these locations. Of Joliet and his map, La Salle writes (in the Memoir transmitted to Paris by Frontenac, November 9, 1680)[1]: "That gentleman has not considered that the Mosopelea, of whom he takes notice in his map, were altogether destroyed before he set out for his voyage."

In his map of 1755, Lewis Evans gives the Shawnee name of the Ohio as *Palawa-Thepiki* (*i.e.*, *Palawa-sipi*, or Palawa River). According to Robert Vaugondy's French map, and John Mitchell's English map of the same year, this river was called the "Ohio, or *Splawcipiki*." In the *Journal* of the Rev. David Jones, it is stated of the Ohio that, "the Shawnees call it *Pellewaa Theepee*, *i.e.*, Turkey River." *Paleawa* (Major Ebenezer Denny), or *Palewa* (John Johnston), is the Shawnee word for "turkey"; (*Bloeu* or *Ploeu*, in Delaware, as the Moravians wrote it.) Johnston, in his Shawnee and Wyandot vocabularies, states that the Shawnee name for the Ohio means Eagle River. "Eagle," however, in Shawnee, is *Wapalaneathy* (Denny), and in Lenape (Zeisberger), *Woapalanne* ("bald eagle"). *Mos*, or *Moas*, is the Lenape word for "elk" (though in Shawnee, according to Johnston, "elk" is *wabete*[2]). In Cuoq's Algonquin Lexicon, *Mose* (Zeisberger, *moochwe*) is defined as "a worm which is found in wood, which gnaws the wood," and the combination, *Mose-wabite*, "to have wormy teeth, or decayed teeth." The meaning of Mosopelea, therefore, may be nothing more than "worm-eaten turkey," or "decayed turkey." However, the vocabularies of the Illinois and the Miami, as given by Gallatin, may better explain the meaning of the term "Mosopelea" (or "Monsouperia," as spelled by Joliet). The Illinois word for "deer" was *mousoah* (Miami, *musuoh*), and for "turkey," *pireouah*[3] (*pilauoh* in Miami),—the "r" sound being

[1] Margry, ii., 95; Hennepin, Thwaites's edition, ii., 628.

[2] *Wape-mashehawey*, translated "White Elk," was the name of one of the Ohio Shawnee chiefs who attended the conference at Lancaster in August, 1762.

[3] James Logan wrote of the Cumberland or the Tennessee River in 1718: "Among divers other large streams, it [the Ohio River] receives the River Peresipi on the south side, not far from the mouth of Wabasha, which said River of Peresipi is said to rise in the mountains of Virginia or Carolina."—Hazard's *Penna. Reg.*, iii., 211. *Peresipi*, as shown above, is equivalent to *Pellewaa Theepee*, the Shawnee name for the Ohio meaning "Turkey River." *Pelesippi* is also given as one of the names for Clinch's River

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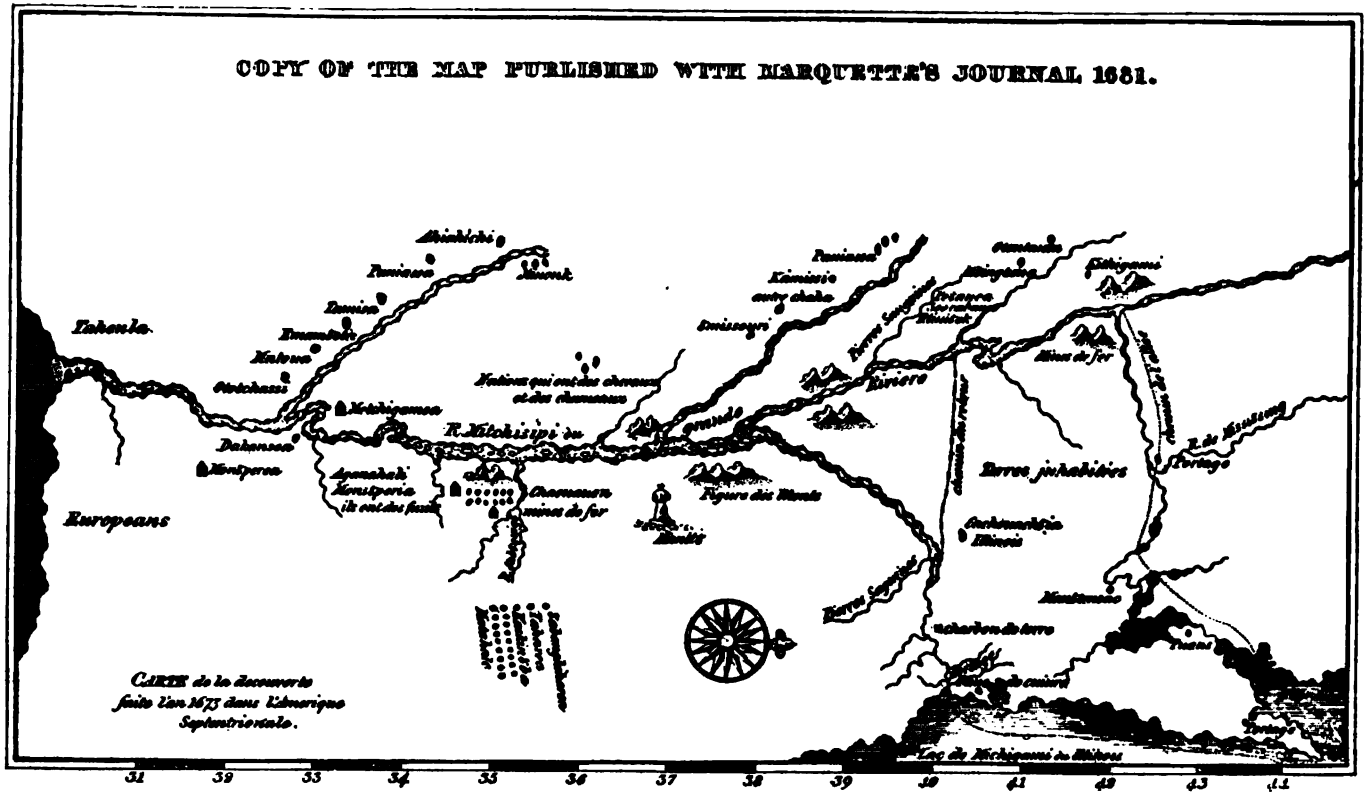

Thévenot's 1681 Map of Marquette's Discoveries.

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very rare, and equivalent to "l" in most of the Algonquin languages. It is possible, therefore, that Mosopelea River meant to the western Algonquins the River of Deer and Turkeys; though Mr. James Mooney has suggested to the writer that *moso* may be an adjective, and mean something other than "elk;" and this may be true, as we have seen in translating it as "wormy." The noun, *moso*, has been retained to the present day in the name of the Muskingum River, an important tributary of the Ohio, at the mouth of which some of the most elaborate and important Indian mounds in existence are still to be seen. The meaning of the word *Muskingum*, as given by Zeisberger, Jones, and other eighteenth century travellers in Ohio, is "Elk's Eye River." The Scioto, too, it will be remembered, was known to the Indians of Ohio from the earliest historic period as a Deer River, the name "Scioto" itself being a modified form of *Ooscanoto*, the Wyandot word for "deer." It would appear to be probable, at least, that the name "Mosopelea" on Franquelin's map referred to the district bounded by the Ohio and its Muskingum and Scioto branches.

Father Anastasius Douay, the Recollect priest who accompanied La Salle on his last expedition in search of the Mississippi and was with him when he was assassinated, gave, on his return to France in 1688, an account of the countries through which Douay travelled on his voyage up the Mississippi. He says that his party passed the mouth of the Ouabache (Ohio) on the 26th of August, 1688. "This famous river," Douay continues, "is full as large as the River Colbert [Mississippi], receiving a quantity of others by which you can enter it. The mouth, where it enters into the River Colbert, is two hundred leagues from the Akansa, according to the estimate of the Sieur de la Salle, as he often told me. . . . About six leagues above this mouth there is on the north-west the famous river of the Massourites, or Osages, at least as large as the river into which it empties; it is formed by a number of other known rivers. . . . The Akansas were formerly stationed on the upper part of one of those rivers [the Ohio], but the Iroquois drove them out by cruel wars some years ago, so that they, with some Osage villages, were obliged to drop down and settle on the river which now bears their name [the Arkansas], and of which I have spoken. About midway between the River Ouabache [Ohio] and that of the Massourites [Missouri] is Cape St. Anthony. It was to this place only, and not further, that the Sieur Joliet descended in 1673; they were there taken, with their whole party, by the Mansopela [Mosopelea]. These Indians having told them that they would be killed if they went further, they

on Fry and Jefferson's map of 1751; while on Bellin's map of 1744, reproduced in this volume, the name, *Polesipi* ("according to the English") is applied to the same stream.

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turned back, not having descended lower than thirty or forty leagues below the mouth of the Illinois."

In Marquette's *Journal* of Joliet's voyage down the Mississippi, he does not mention the Mosopelea by name, although he describes them. In his map accompanying the *Journal*, however, he does locate a village or encampment of the Monsoupelea on the east bank of the Mississippi, some distance below the mouth of the Wabash and a greater distance above the villages of the Metchigamea and Akansea, which he also describes by name. After telling of the Wabash, Marquette proceeds: "We were compelled to erect a sort of cabin on the water with our sails as a protection against the mosquitoes and the rays of the sun. While drifting down with the current, in this condition, we perceived on land some savages, *armed with guns*, who awaited us. I at once offered them my plumed calumet, while our Frenchmen prepared for defence, but delayed firing, that the savages might be the first to discharge their guns. I spoke to them in Huron, but they answered me by a word which seemed to me a declaration of war against us. However, they were frightened as we were; and what we took for a signal for battle was an invitation that they gave us to draw near, that they might give us food. We therefore landed and entered their cabins, where they offered us meat from wild cattle and bear's grease, with white plums, which are very good. They have guns, hatchets, hoes, knives, beads, and flasks of double glass, in which they put their powder. They wear their hair long, and tattoo their bodies, after the Hiroquois fashion. The women wear head-dresses and garments like those of the Huron women. They assured us that we were no more than ten days' journey from the sea; that they bought cloth and all other goods from the Europeans who lived to the East; that those Europeans had rosaries and pictures [the Spaniards of Florida]; that they played upon instruments; that some of them looked like me, and had been received by these savages kindly. Nevertheless, I saw none who seemed to have received any instruction in the faith; I gave them as much as I could, with some medals."

In a note to this passage in Marquette, Dr. Shea remarks that this band of Indians may have been a Tuscarora party, who had traded with the Spaniards. "That they were not dwellers on the Mississippi," he adds, "seems probable, from the fact that they were spoken of, not by the next tribe [the Mitchigameas], but by those lower down [the Akansea], whom they had doubtless reached on some other foray."

Now, while we have seen that Marquette's map of this journey places a village of the Monsoupelea at the point where he met these Indians, the map of Thevenot, first published with Marquette's *Journal* in 1681, also locates a settlement of the Monsouperia (equivalent to

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Monsoupelea) at this point, together with some of the Aganahali. Beneath the name "Monsouperia" on this map, Thevenot adds the significant words, *ils ont des fuzils*, "they have guns."

This legend, taken with Marquette's map and Douay's inaccurate account, is sufficient, the writer submits, to establish the fact that the band met by Marquette at this point on the Mississippi in July, 1673, was a band of the Mosopelea Indians, whatever that name may mean. Marquette's description of these Indians likewise gives us our first and only account of the dress and trade of the Mosopelea.

After Joliet and Marquette had reached the village of the Akansea, near the mouth of the present Arkansas River, they asked the Indians there what they knew about the sea. "They replied that we were only ten days' journey from it—we could have covered the distance in five days; that they were not acquainted with the nations who dwelt there, because their enemies prevented them from trading with those Europeans; that the hatchets, knives, and beads that we saw were sold to them partly by nations from the East and partly by an Illinois village situated at four days' journey from their village westward. They also told us that the savages with guns whom we had met [the Mosopelea] were their enemies, who barred their way to the sea, and prevented them from becoming acquainted with the Europeans, and from carrying on any trade with them; that moreover, we exposed ourselves to great dangers by going further, on account of the continual forays of their enemies along the River,—because, as they had guns and were very war-like, we could not without manifest danger proceed down the River, which they constantly occupy."

The importance of these observations of Marquette to the subject of our present inquiry may seem to be doubtful, in view of the remark already quoted as printed by Hennepin, and which was taken by him or his publisher from a Memoir forwarded to France by Count Frontenac November 9, 1680, which is printed in Margry's second volume. The writer of this Memoir was La Salle himself, and in speaking of Joliet he says: "He has not reflected that the Mosopelea, whom he marks in his map, were entirely destroyed before his voyage." This remark, however, was not true, as La Salle himself found out on descending the Mississippi in 1682; and as will directly appear.

The information which the Akansea gave to Joliet and Marquette, relating to the tribe with guns, which they had met above, being also located below the Akansea village, is no doubt the reason why Thevenot, in making his map for Marquette's *Journal*, placed one village of the Monsouperia above the Akansea, and another below. La Salle, as we shall see, found some of them below the Akansea.

In Tonty's *Relation* of La Salle's voyage down and up the Missis-

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sippi in 1682, he states that on the return of the expedition up the river, they arrived, on April 30th,[1] at the village of the Taensas. Here, "on the morrow," Tonty writes, "a chief of the Mosopelleas, who, after the overthrow of his village, had begged of the chief of the Taensas to live with him, and there dwelt, with five cabins, went to see M. de La Salle; and having said he was a Mosopellea, M. de la Salle gave him back a slave of his own tribe, and also gave him a pistol."[2]

The Taensa village, to which the Mosopelea Indians had fled, after the destruction of their town, was located near the west bank of the Mississippi, in what is now Tensas Parish, Louisiana. The Taensas spoke the same language and had the same customs as the Natchez, a tribe living about fifty miles farther down the river, a few miles east of the site of the present Natchez, Mississippi.[3] Eighty leagues above, at the mouth of the Arkansas, dwelt the allies of the Taensas, the Akansea, of whom Father Gravier wrote in 1700 that they had migrated from the Ohio River, a stream to which the Miamis and Illinois gave the name "Akansea River," because the Akansea had formerly lived on its banks.

Why the Mosopelea survivors should have fled so far down the Mississippi after the destruction of their towns in the Scioto and Muskingum valleys (prior to 1673) would be interesting to know. Possibly, their adoption by the Taensas was merely an incidental result of their flight. Not improbably, however, they may have fled directly to the Taensas after the overthrow of their own villages in the North because the Taensas may have been of a kindred tribe and language with themselves, the fugitives risking the trials and dangers of a twelve hundred mile trip down the Ohio and Mississippi, in order to find a safer refuge with a tribe of their own race, rather than to make their home with one of the numerous tribes of other races lying between the mouth of the Scioto and the Taensa village.

If this were the true explanation of the presence of the survivors of the Ohio Valley tribe in the village of the Taensas, then we could learn something of the customs and manner of life of the Mosopelea by studying those of the Taensas and Natchez. And if such a study should show that the customs and manners of the Taensas differed in a marked degree from those of all the surrounding nations (excepting the kindred and neighboring tribe of the Natchez), as well as from those of all the

[1] Membre says, May 1st; Nicolas La Salle, June 1st.

[2] Margry, i., 610.

[3] In a letter from Mr. F. S. Shaw, of Natchez, he states that the ancient seat of the Natchez tribe was "about ten miles [east] from the present city of Natchez, on the Woodville road, near the two Indian mounds on the banks of Second Creek [a head of Catherine Creek]. On one of these mounds the sacred fire was kept, the Natchez being fire worshippers. . . . They had another mound at Selsertown near Stanton station, where the sacred fire was also kept."

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northern tribes whose history has been preserved; then, if we assume the Mosopelea to be a kindred tribe also, we may safely conclude that the customs and manner of life of the latter tribe in its original home in what is now southern Ohio, likewise differed widely from those of the tribes which surrounded them there.

As a matter of fact, the institutions and customs of the Taensas and the Natchez were vastly different from those of all the other Indian nations in the North, and more or less different from those of the neighboring southern tribes. The testimony of Tonty and Membre (1682), Montigny (1699), La Source and Gravier (1700), Penicaut (1704), Du Poisson (1727), is uniform in regard to this, and while there are some variations in its details, the whole of it is of intense interest in connection with the study of the Indians of the Ohio Valley in pre-historic times. While we are not in a position to assert that the Ohio totem and so-called ceremonial mounds were built by the direct ancestors of the Nachesan tribes, it can be said with positiveness that their habits, the despotic power of their chiefs and medicine men, their customs, institutions, and the nature and extent of their civilization were such as we might reasonably and naturally expect in the people who did build the Ohio mounds.

The farthest point south reached by Joliet and Marquette when they descended the Mississippi in 1673 was at the mouth of the Arkansas River, where they found a tribe of Quapaw Indians living. The Quapaws were of Siouan stock and were known to the Illinois and other Algonquin tribes as the Akansa.[1] Father Membre, who accompanied La Salle's expedition down the Mississippi in 1682, after describing the manner in which La Salle was received and entertained by the Akansa, who lived at the mouth of the Arkansas River, goes on to relate that, "they finally gave us provisions and men, to conduct us and serve as interpreters with the Taensa, their allies, who are eighty leagues distant from their village. On the 17th we continued our route, and six leagues lower down we found another village of the same Akansa nation, and then another, three leagues lower, the people of which were of the same kind, and received us most hospitably. . . . On the 22d we reached the Taensa." When Father Gravier descended the Mississippi in 1700, he wrote that on the 15th of October his party reached the mouth of the Ouabachi (the name then generally applied to the Ohio below the mouth of the Wabash proper). "We camped in sight of this river, which comes from the South, and empties into the Mississippi. At its mouth it makes a great basin, two arpents from its discharge. It is called by the Illinois and by the Oumiamis the River of the Akansea, because *the Akansea formerly dwelt on it.* Three branches are assigned to it; one that comes from the Northwest, passing behind the country

[1] Margry, i., 598.

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of the Oumiamis, called the River St. Joseph, which the Indians call properly, Ouabachi; the second comes from the Iroquois, and it is that called by them Ohio; and the third from the S.S.W., on which are the Chaouanoua; and all three uniting to empty into the Mississippi, it is commonly called Ouabachi; but the Illinois and the other Indians call it the River of the Akansea."[1]

The Ohio is shown as the Akansea River on Van Keulen's map of 1720, reproduced on the opposite page.

In his *Relation* of 1693[2] Tonty writes that La Salle's expedition down the Mississippi arrived at the Taensas on March 22, 1682.

"When we arrived opposite to the village of the Taensas, M. de la Salle desired me to go to it and inform the chief of his arrival. I went with our guides, and we had to carry a bark canoe for ten arpens, and to launch it on a small lake in which their village was placed.[3] I was surprised to find their cabins of mud, and covered with cane mats. The cabin of the chief was forty feet square, the wall ten feet high, a foot thick, and the roof, which was of a dome shape, about fifteen feet high. I was not less surprised, when, on entering, I saw the chief seated on a camp bed, with three of his wives at his side, surrounded by more than sixty old men, clothed in large white cloaks, which are made by the women out of the bark of the mulberry tree, and are tolerably well worked. The women were clothed in the same manner, and every time the chief spoke to them, before answering him, they howled and cried out several times, 'O-o-o-o-o-o,' to show their respect for him; for their chiefs are held in as much consideration as our kings. No one drinks out of the chief's cup nor eats out of his plate, and no one passes before him; when he walks, they clean the path before him. When he dies, they sacrifice his youngest wife, his house steward, and a hundred men, to accompany him into the other world.[4]

[1] See Shea's *Charlevoix*, ii., 109, note.

[2] French, *Hist. Coll. Louisiana*, i., 61–63.

[3] Probably the present Lake St. Joseph.—Gatschet, *Creek Migration Legend*, 31.

[4] Tonty's 1683 account of the same visit, as given by Margry (i., 599–610) is as follows: "On the 22d we arrived at the Taensas, after having sailed eighty leagues. As this Nation lives on a small lake, we camped at three leagues from the village. . . . We arrived there by night. The Akansas began to sing; the Taensas recognized them as friends, and we entered their village safely. Never was I so surprised as when entering the hut of the Chief; because the other savages do not build in the same way. One finds in this nation some of the qualities possessed by civilized poeple. We were first led into a hut of forty feet front. The walls, built of a mixture of clay and mud, are two feet thick and twelve feet high. The roof is in the form of a dome, in cane matting, so well worked that the rain cannot pass through it. On entering, we saw the Chief, seated upon a kind of lounge. There were more than sixty elders opposite him; they were all covered with large white blankets, like those hammocks the savages of the American Islands fabricate. There was a torch of dry stricks in the centre of the hut,

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"They have a form of worship, and adore the Sun. There is a temple opposite the house of the chief, and similar to it, except that three eagles are placed on this temple, who look towards the rising Sun. The temple is surrounded with strong mud walls, in which are fixed spikes, on which they place the heads of their enemies who are sacrificed to the Sun. At the door of the temple is a block of wood, on which is a great shell, and plaited around with the hair of their enemies, in a plait about as thick as an arm, and about twenty toises long. The inside of the temple is naked; there is an altar in the middle, and at the foot of the altar three logs of wood are placed on end, and a fire is kept up, day and night by two old priests [*jongleurs*], who are the masters of their worship. These old men showed me a small cabinet within the wall, made of mats of cane. Desiring to see what was inside, the old men prevented me, giving me to understand that their god was there. I have since learned that it is the place where they keep their treasure, such as fine pearls, which they fish up in the neighborhood, and European merchandise. At the last quarter of the moon, all the cabins make an offering of a dish of the best food they have, which is placed at the door of the temple. The old men take good care to carry it away, and to make a good feast of it with their families.

"Every spring they make a clearing, which they name the 'field of the spirit,' when all the men work to the sound of the tambour. In the autumn, the Indian corn is harvested with much ceremony, and stored in magazines until the month of June in the following year, when all the village assemble and invite their neighbors to eat it. They do not leave the ground until they have eaten it all, making great rejoicings the whole time. This is all I learned of this nation. The three villages below have the same customs. . . .

"A brother of the Great Chief of the Natchez conducted us to his brother's village. . . . We were well received there. This nation counts more than 300 warriors. Here the men cultivate the ground, hunt, and fish, as well as the Taensas, and their manners are the same."

The Recollect Friar, Zenobius Membre, wrote of the same visit to the Taensas in these words: "On the 22d we reached the Taensa, who

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which was adorned with several copper shields made fast on the four sides of the walls, besides a quantity of pictures. There was also an alcove, where the Great Chief rests, and several field beds, upon which rest the chiefs of eight villages situated on the lake, which are dependencies of the Great Chief. All the elders who were with him in said hut, held their hands upon their heads, howling like wolves, crying, 'Ho! Ho! Ho! Ho!' . . . I forgot to mention that the Taensas have a divinity; for we have seen a Temple opposite the Chief's hut. In this Temple there is a kind of altar, surmounted by three eagles, looking towards the rising sun. This Temple is encircled by a sort of fort, upon the walls of which they stick the heads of enemies killed in battle. This fort is not regular, but each angle is well defended; there are sentry-boxes of stout wood."

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dwell around a little lake formed in the land by the River Mississippi. They have eight villages. The walls of their houses are made of earth, mixed with straw; the roof is of canes, which form a dome, adorned with paintings; they have wooden beds, and much other furniture, and even ornaments in their temples, where they inter the bones of their chiefs. They are dressed in white blankets, made of the bark of a tree which they spin; their chief is absolute, and disposes of all without consulting anybody. He is attended by slaves, as are all his family. . . . The Sieur de la Salle being fatigued and unable to go into the town, sent in the Sieur de Tonty and myself with presents. The chief of this nation, not content with sending him provisions and other presents wished also to see him. . . . The chief, who came some time after, was dressed in a fine white cloth or blanket. He was preceded by two men, carrying fans of white feathers. A third carried a copper plate, and a round one of the same metal, both highly polished. . . . Religion may be greatly advanced among them, as well as among the Akansas, both these nations being half civilized."

Nicholas de la Salle, who also accompanied the explorer to the mouth of the Mississippi, describes in his *Recital*, the second visit paid to the Taensas on the return voyage up the river. His description is as follows:

"On the first day of June [May], 1682, we arrived in the Taensa country; M. de la Salle sent four Frenchmen, of whom the Little La Salle was one, in order to bring back this Taensa [who had accompanied the party down the river]. Having come close, he sang out. It was during the night. Two old men with torches came upon the shore of the lake, to ascertain what the matter was. They led the Frenchmen to the cabin of the chief. The Little La Salle says, that the chief was by the side of the cabin on a platform, upon a mat of as fine work as those wicker baskets made by the nuns in France; that he had seen in this cabin an old Spanish sword and three old style shot guns. The chief had the Frenchmen tell him about their journey. He manifested pleasure in hearing that they had killed men. All who entered the hut greeted the chief, lifting their hands above the head and saying 'Hou! Hou! Hou!' The chief would answer: 'Negoudez! Negoudez!' The Frenchmen were given food and also mats to sleep on. These people are very grave and very respectful towards their chief. . . . This village extends for a league along the lake. The temple, the chief's cabin, and seven or eight cabins of the elders are surrounded with posts, forming a kind of fort; upon the posts human heads are stuck. The temple is dome-like, the door, daubed with red paint, is guarded night and day by two watchmen.

"One of the Frenchmen entered it, very much against the will o

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the guards, one of whom followed him, wiping with his hands the earth on which the Frenchman trod, and rubbing his body with the hands.

"The Frenchman says this temple is oval in form, thirty feet long, with an inside width of twelve feet, decorated with works made of sticks, and all painted red. The dome is covered with beautiful mats, the sides with earth. The sticks which form the roofing stand out two feet from the centre, crossing one over the other. Every night there are two lit torches in it. We saw that the women held their children against the Sun and rubbed the little ones' bodies with their hands, which they had also held against the Sun.

"We went to take leave from the chief. He had the canoe given back to us with a quantity of victuals. He paid a visit to M. de la Salle, accompanied by thirty canoes; brought him so many provisions that some of them had to be thrown away, the canoes being overladen. Natives swept the ground over which their chief had to pass. He spoke with M. de la Salle seated on a mat. M. de la Salle gave him an old dressing gown of painted canvas and a small Mosopolea slave, who had been given by the Acansa; the chief gave him his robe or blanket, a kind of cotton fabric."

Montigny, who established a mission among the Taensas in the latter part of the year 1699, gives a description of the nation in a letter written by him from the Akansea country in the following January. "The first among whom we thought of establishing," he says, "are the Tonicas, who are sixty leagues lower down than the Akanseas. Mr. Davion has stationed himself there. The spot where he is is quite fine. With some small villages of some other nation who are with them, they made about 2000 souls. About one day's journey lower down (that is to say, 20 leagues), are the Taensas, who speak another language. They are only a short day's journey from the Natchez, *who are of the same nation and speak the same language.* For the present I reside among the Taensas, but am to go shortly to the Natchez. This nation is very great, and more numerous than the Tonicas. The Taensas are only about 700 souls. . . . I often speak of the Tonicas and the Taensas, and of those who are on the banks of the Mississippi. . . . They have rather fine temples, the walls of which are of mats. That of the Taensas has walls seven or eight feet thick, on account of the great number of mats, one on another. They regard the serpent as one of their divinities, so far as I could see. They would not dare to accept or appropriate anything of the slightest consequence without taking it to the temple. When they receive anything, it is with a kind of veneration that they turn towards this temple. They do not seem to be debauched in their lives. On account of the great heat the men go

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naked, and the women and girls are not well covered, and the girls up to the age of twelve go entirely naked. . . . They have also another abuse. When their chiefs are dead, the more esteemed he has been, the more persons they kill, who offer themselves to die with him; and last year, when the chief of the Taensas died, there were twelve persons who offered to die, and whom they tomahawked."

La Source accompanied Montigny on his voyage down the Mississippi. In his *Narrative* of the journey he writes: "On the 21st we arrived at the Taensas. It is a league by land and two by water [from the river]. They are on the shore of a lake, three leagues from the Micissipi. They are very humane and docile people. Their chief died not long before we arrived. It is their custom to sacrifice on this account. They told us that they had put to death thirteen on the death of the one who died last. For this purpose they put a root in the fire to burn, and when it is consumed, they kill him with tomahawks. The Natchez, who are twelve leagues lower down, put men to death on the death of their chief. It must be avowed that they are very foolish to allow themselves to be killed in this way; yet it is a thing they esteem as great honor and noble-heartedness. They [the Taensas] have a pretty large temple, with three columns, well made, serpents, and other like superstitions. The temple is encircled by an enclosure made like a wall. It is almost covered with skulls. They would not let us enter, saying, that those who entered died. We entered, half by force, half by consent. The girls and women are dressed like those I have mentioned before, and even worse, for we saw some, twenty-five and thirty years old, quite naked."

Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, the founder of Louisiana, visited the Natchez and Taensa villages in March, 1700. He describes the Taensa natives in the *Journal* of his voyage as follows:

"On the morning of the 14th we went to the lake, where we met four natives who had brought us canoes, having heard the reports from our guns. We travelled about two leagues upon the lake and at noon went to the village, where I found M. de Montigny, the missionary, having four Frenchmen with him. He had a house built there and is preparing to have a church built. In this nation there may be about one hundred and twenty cabins, spread over a space of two leagues on the shore of the lake. There is a rather fine temple in this place. Formerly this nation was numerous, but there are not more than three hundred men now. They have large barren lands and on the bank of this lake some very good soil, which is not subject to inundation and might be a quarter of a league in width, running around the lake for four and a half leagues from northeast to west. The main part of this village is at about two leagues from the end reaching towards the

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Mississippi and opposite a smaller river of about one hundred feet in width, upon the shore of which are some cabins of natives. . . .

"On the 15th I returned with M. de Montigny to the landing place, where I had left my canoe, in order to await my brother and all my men.

"On the 16th and 17th it rained and thundered much. In the night of the 16th, lightning struck the Taensas' temple, setting it afire and entirely destroying it. These savages, in order to pacify the Spirit, whom they said to be angered, threw five infants into the burning temple. They would have thrown several others into the flames but for the intervention of three Frenchmen who prevented their doing it. An aged man, about sixty-five years old, who seemed to act as high priest, was standing near the fire shouting: 'Women, bring your infants to offer as a sacrifice to appease the Spirit.' Five of them did so, bringing their babies, whom he took and threw into the flames. The deed of these women was looked upon as one of the noblest that could be performed. They followed this old man, who led them with great ceremony to the cabin of him who was to be the chief of the nation, the last chief having but recently died. It was customary at the death of their chief to kill some twenty men or women, in order to accompany him, they say, into the other world, and attend upon him. Several, according to what they said, were delighted to be among the killed. I doubt this very much. The old man above mentioned, said that the Spirit was angered, because at the death of the last chief nobody had been killed; that the chief himself was angered; that he had had the temple destroyed; accusing the Frenchmen, who were the cause of this misfortune, because M. de Montigny having been at the village on the occasion of the chief's death had prevented anybody from being killed; of which the whole nation seemed to be glad, except this high priest. These women by the deed they had done, sanctified and consecrated to the Spirit, thus several of these savages called them, were led to the pretender to the crown, were made much of, were much praised by the elders, and every one of them was clothed with a white blanket made of mulberry-tree bark, and every one's head was decorated with a large feather. They remained the whole day in show at the entrance of the chief's cabin, seated upon cane mats, this cabin being intended to be used hereafter as the temple, where the fire was lighted, as it is customary for them to do."

Father Gravier, who made a voyage down and up the Mississippi in 1700, writes of the Taensas and Natchez: "On the 13th [of November] we set out . . . and the next day reached the River of the Tounika. . . . They have only one small temple, raised on a mound of earth. They never enter it, Mr. Davion told me, except when going to or returning from war; and do not make all the howlings of the Taensa and Natchez when they pass in front of their temples, where there is always an old

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man who maintains the fire. . . . The Natchez, Mr. de St. Cosme assured me, are far from being as docile as the Tounika. They practice polygamy, steal, and are very vicious, the girls and women more than the men and boys. . . . The Taensas, *who speak the same language*, have the same habits also; their village is twenty leagues from the river of the Tounika. . . . Their temple having been reduced to ashes last year by lightning, which fell on a matter as combustible as the canes with which it is thatched, the old man who is its guardian, said that the spirit was incensed because no one was put to death on the decease of the last chief, and that it was necessary to appease him. Five women had the cruelty to cast their children into the fire, in sight of the French who recounted it to me; or rather, gave them to the old man, who cast them into the fire while making his invocations, and chanting; and but for the French there would have been a great many more children burnt. The chief's cabin having been converted into a temple, the five unnatural mothers were borne to it in triumph as five heroines.

"We had pretty fair weather to reach the Natchez, south of the Taensas, from whom they are only twenty leagues distant. After mounting a little bluff, you find a great beaten road leading to a rather steep hill, more than half of which is covered in the high waters. On top of this hill you discern a noble prairie. The most beaten road leads to the village where the Temple is; the others, running off right and left, lead to different hamlets. There are only four cabins in that where the temple is. It is very spacious and covered with cane mats, which they renew every year with great ceremonies. . . . There is no window, no chimney in this Temple, and it is only by the light of the fire that you can see a little, and then the door, which is very low and narrow, must be open. I imagine that the obscurity of the place inspires them with respect. The old man who is the keeper, keeps the fire up and takes great care not to let it go out. It is in the centre of the Temple, in front of a sort of mausoleum after the Indian fashion. There are three, about eight or nine feet long, six feet broad, and nine or ten feet high. They are supported by four large posts covered with mats of canes in quite neat columns and surmounted by a platform of plaited canes. This would be rather graceful were it not all blackened with smoke and covered with soot. There is a large mat which serves as a curtain to cover a large table, covered with five or six cane mats, on which stands a large basket that it is unlawful to open, as the spirit of each nation of those quarters reposes there, they say, with that of the Natchez. . . . There are others in the other two mausoleums, where the bones of their chiefs are, they say, which they revere as divinities. . . .

"The Frenchman whom M. d'Iberville left there to learn the language, told me, that on the death of the last chief, they put to death

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two women, three men and three children; they strangled them with a bow-string, and this cruel ceremony was performed with great pomp, these wretched victims deeming themselves greatly honored to accompany their chief by a violent death."

The best account of the customs and religion of the Natchez, who were a kindred tribe to the Taensas, spoke the same language, and lived twelve leagues farther down the Mississippi, is that of the Jesuit Father, Le Petit, written from New Orleans, July 12, 1730. It is in part as follows, the translation being from Thwaites's edition of the *Relations:*

"This nation of savages inhabits one of the most beautiful and fertile countries in the world, and is the only one on this continent which appears to have any regular worship. Their religion in certain points is very similar to that of the ancient Romans. They have a Temple filled with idols, which are different figures of men and of animals, and for which they have the most profound veneration. Their Temple in shape resembles an earthen oven, a hundred feet in circumference. They enter it by a little door about four feet high, and not more than three in breadth. No window is to be seen there. The arched roof of the edifice is covered with three rows of mats, placed one upon the other, to prevent the rain from injuring the masonry. Above, on the outside, are three figures of eagles, made of wood, and painted red, yellow, and white. Before the door is a kind of shed with folding-doors, where the guardian of the temple is lodged; all around it runs a circle of palisades, on which are seen exposed the skulls of all the heads which their warriors had brought back from the battles in which they had been engaged with the enemies of their Nation.

"In the interior of the Temple are some shelves arranged at a certain distance from each other, on which are placed cane baskets of an oval shape, and in these are enclosed the bones of their ancient chiefs, while by their side are those of their victims who had caused themselves to be strangled, to follow their masters into the other world. Another separate shelf supports many flat baskets very gorgeously painted, in which they preserve their idols. These are figures of men and women, made of stone or baked clay, the heads and the tails of extraordinary serpents, some stuffed owls, some pieces of crystal, and some jaw-bones of large fish. In the year 1699, they had there a bottle and the foot of a glass, which they guarded as very precious.

"In this Temple they take care to keep up a perpetual fire, and they are very particular to prevent its ever blazing; they do not use anything for it but dry wood of the walnut or oak. The old men are obliged to carry, each one in his turn, a large log of wood into the enclosure of the palisade. The number of Guardians of the Temple is fixed, and they serve by the quarter. He who is on duty is placed like a sentinel

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under the shed, from whence he examines whether the fire is not in danger of going out He feeds it with two or three large logs, which do not burn except at the extremity, and which they never place one on the other, for fear of their getting into a blaze.[1]

"Of the women, the sisters of the Great Chief alone have liberty to enter within the Temple. The entrance is forbidden to all the others, as well to the common people. . . .

"The Sun is the principal object of veneration to these people; as they cannot conceive of anything which can be above this heavenly body, nothing else appears to them more worthy of homage. It is for the same reason that the Great Chief of this Nation, who knows nothing on the earth more dignified than himself, takes the title of Brother of the Sun, and the credulity of the people maintains him in the despotic authority which he claims. *To enable them better to converse together* [*i.e.*, the Chief and the Sun!], *they raise a mound of artificial soil, on which they build his cabin*, which is of the same construction as the Temple. The door fronts the East, and every morning the Great Chief honors by his presence the rising of his Elder Brother, and salutes him with many howlings as soon as he appears above the horizon. Then he gives orders that they shall light his calumet; he makes Him an offering of the first three puffs which he draws; afterwards raising his hand above his head, and turning from the East to the West, he shows Him the direction which He must take in His course. . . .

"When the Great Chief dies, they demolish his cabin, and *then raise a new mound*, on which they build the cabin of him who is to replace him in this dignity, for he never lodges in that of his predecessor. . . .

"These people blindly obey the least wish of their Great Chief. They look upon him as absolute master, not only of their property but also of their lives, and not one of them would dare to refuse him his head if he should demand it; for whatever labors he commands them to execute, they are forbidden to exact any wages. . . . One of the principal articles of their religion, and particularly for the servants of the Great Chief, is that of honoring his funeral rites by dying with him, that they may go to serve him in the other world. . . . They first put on all their finery, and repair to the place opposite to the Temple, where all the people are assembled. After having danced and sung a suffi-

[1] "If, from any cause, the fire became extinguished, it could only be relighted in one of two ways: from the Spirit, that is, from a tree set on fire by lightning: or 'with blood;' the latter meant, that an attendant at the Temple where the fire had become extinguished, must journey to another Temple where the sacred fire was kept, and obtain some of it. Resistance was made, and blood had to be shed before a surrender of any of the fire was made."—Letter from Mr. F. S. Shaw, of Natchez, Miss.

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The Temple of the Natchez.

A Paris view, from Lafitau's *Mœurs des Sauvages*, 1724, where it is described as "Mortuary rites of a chief or chieftainess of the Nation of the Natchez, in Louisiana. The temple, all opened, permits a view of the interior, and shows the corpses of the chiefs which are there deposited. He to whom they render the last rites is exposed on one of the stones which are at the entrance of this temple. Two choirs, represented in the foreground, form a religious dance, during which they strangle those whose duty it is to keep company with the deceased, and who go to serve him in the other world."

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ciently long time, they pass around their neck a cord of buffalo hair with a running knot, and immediately the ministers appointed for executions of this kind come forward to strangle them, recommending them to go to rejoin their master. . . .

"The same ceremony is observed in like manner on the death of the brothers and sisters of the Great Chief. . . .

"The Government is hereditary; it is not, however, the son of the reigning chief who succeeds his father, but the son of his sister, or the first Princess of the blood. This policy is founded on the knowledge they have of the licentiousness of their women. . . .

"In former times the Nation of the Natchez was very large. It counted sixty villages and eight hundred Suns or Princes; now it is reduced to six little villages and eleven Suns. In each of these villages there is a Temple where the fire is always kept burning, as in that of the Great Chief, whom all the other Chiefs obey."

These various relations regarding the Taensa and Natchez Indians reveal to us a barbarous race, living under a most despotic form of government, and in every way capable of having produced such works as those of the various mounds and fortifications to be found in the Ohio Valley. If they and their kindred tribes were not the direct descendants of the Indians who built those mounds, we may be sure that we will never have a more nearly accurate description of the manners and customs of the Indians who did build those works than is furnished in these various accounts of the Taensas and Natchez of the Mississippi.

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CHAPTER IV

THE OHIO VALLEY BEFORE THE WHITE MAN CAME (*Continued*)

FRANQUELIN'S map of 1688, of which an incomplete copy is printed by Winsor,[1] shows many variations from his map of 1684. A later edition, bearing the date of 1708, is printed in Marcel's *Reproductions*. On this map the "Ohoio, ou La Belle Riviere," takes the place of the River St. Louis or Casquinampogamou. Its source is given, however, as in the Tchalaque (Cherokee) country, directly east of its mouth. It appears to be formed by the junction of the "R. des Tchalaque" and another stream, not named. A short distance below this junction, is shown an island in the river, called "I[sle] des Tchalaque, ou des Casquinampo" (Muscle Shoals?). Three tributaries flow into the Ohoio from the north—the "Ouabache," so named throughout its course, rising near the western extremity of Lake Erie; the "Riviere des Iroquois"; and the "Riviere Tsonnontouans" (Senecas). Three tributaries also of the Wabash are named, all rising south of Lake Erie. These are given on the map, from north to south, as the "Riviere aux Raisins [grapes] ou des Vignes" [grape-vines]: "R. Teiocarontiong,[2] ou de la Nation du Chat"; and "Riviere des Chatagniers" [chestnut-trees]. North of the Tchalaque River are indicated the countries of the "Catoughi, Thaligi, et Tchelaque," which appear under similar names on Franquelin's map of 1684.

La Salle's own description of the Ohio Valley, written in 1683 or 1684, has been preserved to us in a "leaf detached, without beginning or end in the hand-writing of La Salle," which Margry prints under this sub-title in his Collections.[3] It may be observed that La Salle himself

[1] *Nar. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, iv., 230.

[2] In the anonymous French map of 1682–90 (No. 3 of the Parkman collection) reproduced by Winsor and by him called the map of the Basin of the Great Lakes (also printed in Beauchamp's *New York Iroquois*, and erroneously labelled Coronelli's map of 1688), Lake Erie is called "Lake Teiocharontiong, or Erie." Sagard gives the Huron name for the "cat" (raccoon) from which the Eries took their tribal name, as *tiiron*.

[3] Margry, ii., 196–203.

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did not in 1682, call the Ohio the Casquinampo, as it is named on Franquelin's map of 1684. In his *proces-verbal* dated 13th and 14th March, 1682, at the time he took possession in the King's name of the country of the Arkansas, La Salle speaks of the "mouth of the River Saint Louis, called Ohio, Olighinsipou, and Chukagoua"; and in his *proces-verbal* dated 9 April 1682, at the mouth of the Mississippi he refers to "the mouth of the grand River Saint Louis, from the coasts of the east, called otherwise Ohio, Olighinsipou, or Chukagoua."

In the *fieulle detache*, however, which Margry calls "Rivers and Inhabitants of the Countries Discovered," and which was written by La Salle between the time of his two attempts at the exploration of the Mississippi (1682–1684), La Salle does describe the Ohio as one of the tributaries of the Chucagoa, or River St. Louis, and does confuse the latter with the present Tennessee River. His "leaf detached" begins as follows: "neighbors of the Ciscas and their allies, as well as the Cicacas. Chucagoa, which means in their language[1] the Grand River, as Mississippi in the Ottawa language and Masciccipi in the Illinoi, is the River which we call the St. Louis. The Ohio, which is one of its affluents, receives the waters of two other large rivers before discharging into the St. Louis, to-wit., Agouassake [shown as one of the heads of the Wabash on Franquelin's map of 1684] from the North and *Riviére des Chaouesnons* from the South. The Takahaganes inhabit on the north bank of the Chucagoa, about latitude 32° North; the Cicaca [Chickasaws] in the interior of the country, about latitude 32½° North, on the south side of this River, in a southerly direction from the outlet of the Illinois River into the Colbert [Mississippi] River; that is to say, about longitude 39 west of Percee Island, seventeen days' journey up the river, estimating the journey at seven or eight leagues a day, on the average, the route being about east-northeast. The Kaskias [the Casquis of De Soto?] are to be found on their Island, but very few of them remain, the nation having been almost completely destroyed, or forced to flee, by the Iroquois. The Tchatakes [misprint or variant for Tchalakes, *i.e.*, Cherokees] are on the north shore of the same River, about 34 degrees north. This river is much wider, in all that extent of country than the Colbert River. *I have not yet been able to explore it.* The Apalatchites, a nation inhabiting British Florida, are not very far from some of its most easterly branches, because they are at war with the Tchatakes and the Ciscas, having once, with the aid of the English burnt one of their villages. The Ciscas then left their old villages, which were situated much more to the East than those from which they came [to Fort St. Louis in 1683]; although this River flows from East to West, and, consequently, it seems that it should discharge into the Colbert

[1] The name of the tribe is lost, with the missing first sheet of this account of La Salle's; but from the word, *Chucagoa*, its language may have been Iroquoian.

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River, of which the Takahaganes, who live on the shore of the Chucagoa, are only three days distant from the Mississippi, where we have seen some when we were going down and on coming back.

"I do not know whether these two rivers join; first, because Fernand Soto's relation is assuredly not a chimera. The name of the River and of all the nations which inhabit its shores, according to what he says, as well as the large number of Mauvila [Mobile] Indians . . . moreover, the names of Quiqualthangi and Anilco are just as much unknown on the Colbert River as those of the Coroa, Natche, Omma, Taensa, Ikouera, Tounica, Yazou, Tiou, Ouasita, Mahehoualaima, Kinipissa, Tchouchouma, and Tanjibao, who live there, were unknown to Soto's party. Moreover, the prodigious width which they attribute to the Chucagoa channel . . . has nothing to do with the width of the Mississippi, which [in some places near the delta] is no greater than that of the Loire, even at its mouth. . . . Moreover, all maps are worthless, or the mouth of Colbert River is near Mexico . . . and consequently not on the Chucagoa River, whence the Spaniards were so long in reaching Mexico. . . . Moreover, what leads me to believe that Chucagoa is not the Mississippi, but that it parallels it, is, that on the east side of the Mississipi, no large river flows into it, while on the west side there are many large tributaries.[1] This has always led me to conjecture that there was, in the east side, some other large river into which all the waters of that side flow. . . .

"I wrote without thinking this digression about this river; although many people have told me that the Chucagoa did flow into the Mississippi. This is possible, although we have not seen the confluence, because, above the Acansas village is a large island, or rather, many islands, which are from sixty to eighty leagues in extent; in going down, we took the western channel, and, as we had left all our baggage at the Acansas village, we were obliged to return by the same route. . . .

"The arrival of the Ciscas [Chaskepes?] and the Chaouenons was followed by the return of the Islinois," etc.

The Oniassontke Indians are represented on Franquelin's map of 1684 as having had two villages destroyed, which were situated on the north bank of the Ohio, south of the Erie villages.

In the Abbé Galinee's description of La Salle's visit to the Seneca country in 1669, he states that the expedition was led by two canoes of Senecas who had come to Montreal in the summer of 1668 on a hunting and trading expedition. "These people while here had stayed quite a long time at M. de la Salle's, and had told him such marvels of the River

[1] Membre states that the expedition stopped at the mouth of the Ouabache (Ohio). Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*, p. 167.

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Ohio, which they said they knew perfectly, that they inflamed in him more than ever the desire to go to see it. They told him that this River took its rise only three days' journey from Sonnontouan, and that after one month of travelling one came upon the Honniasontkeronons and the Chiouanons, and that after having passed the latter and a great cataract or waterfall there is in this River, one found the Outagame and the country of the Iskousogos, and that in that country, deer and buffalo were as plentiful as the trees of the woods, and so great a number of people that there could not be more." In a Council held with the Indians in the Seneca country on the 13th of August, 1669, La Salle declared that he "had come on the part of Onontio to see the people called by them 'Toagenha' [Shawnee], living on the River Ohio, and that he asked of them a captive of that country, to conduct him thither."

On the anonymous French map referred to above (No. 3 of the Parkman Collection) which Winsor calls the Map of the Basin of the Great Lakes, made, probably soon after 1682, "Lake Oniasont"[1] and "The Oniasontkeronons" are located at the head of a small river that ds into the Ohio from the South, south of the middle line of Lake Erie, nd near the head of another river, "which flows into Chesapeake Bay." Either the Kanawha, the Big Sandy, or the Kentucky, is the stream here meant to be shown; probably the Kanawha. The New River branch of that stream rises not far from the head of the James River. The Indian name of the Big Sandy was the Totteroy, so-called from the Siouan tribes which went under the name of Toteri or Tutelo.

In Lewis Evans's *Analysis* of his map of 1755, he describes Kentucky River as "having high clay banks; abounds in cane and buffaloes, and large salt springs; its navigation interrupted with some shoals, but passable with canoes to the Gap, where the War Path goes through the Ouasiota Mountains." Some writers spell the last name, "Onasiota," which is but a slight variation of "Oniasontke," and may be synonymous with it. Moll names the lake, Ouiasont, in his map of 1720. Evans writes in 1755 of Lake Erie and the Sandusky River: "This river is an important pass, and the French have secured it as such. The northern Indians cross the Lake here, from island to island, land at Sanduski, and go by a direct path to the Lower Shawnee Town, and thence to the Gap of Ouasiota, on their way to the Cuttawas' [Cherokees' or Catawbas' country." The name "Ouasiota Mountains" was formerly given to the Cumberland Mountains. "Ouasiota Pass" is shown on Pownall's map of 1776, with trails converging to it from the Big Bone Lick, the Lower Shawnee Town, and the mouth of the Totteroy, or Big Sandy.

[1] Oniasont Lake is shown on Dr. James Smith's map of 1720, on De l'Isle's map of 1718, and on Homann's map of about 1730.

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"Ouasiota Pass" was therefore the original Indian name of the pass leading to Cumberland Gap.[1]

On Crevecœur's map of the Scioto Plains, printed in his *Letters from an American Farmer* (Paris, 1787), of which a reproduction from the French edition is given in this volume, a trail is shown leading from the Chillicothe Town on Paint Creek to the mouth of the Great Kanawha, surmounted by the following legend: "Path of the Shawnese Warriors when they go to the Riviere de la Ronce Verte [Greenbriar] in the country of Ouasioto, at this time the western *ultramonte* part of Virginia." This map was based on information furnished by the former Indian Trader, General Richard Butler; and would seem to indicate the Kanawha and Greenbriar as the route to the Ouasiota country, although there was no tribe of Indians living on the Kanawha or Greenbriar so late as 1787 which can be identified by that name. The meaning probably is, that the Shawnees took their way by the path up the Kanawha and Greenbriar Rivers when on their war raids against the Catawbas and other Siouan tribes of Virginia, Carolina, and the South, all of whom at one time, possibly, may have gone under the name of Oniasontkeronon as they did later, together with the Cherokees and Choctaws, under the common name of Flat-heads.

John Johnston, in the Shawnee and Wyandot vocabularies published in Howe's *Ohio*, states that the Hurons (Wyandots) pronounce the name of Scioto, *Sci-on-to*; and he gives the Wyandot word for deer, *Oughscan-oto;* of which "Scioto" is evidently a corruption. The Mohawk word for deer is *Oskennonton* or *Scaenoto;*[2] and in the Onondaga, deer is *Skanodo* or *Scaenonto*. Early forms of the name applied to the Scioto River included Souyote, Sonnioto, Sonontio, Cenioteaux, St. Yotoc, Chianotho, and Sikader, besides the name by which it is designated on Bellin's maps of 1744, "Chianouske." The last name may possibly be a variation or a French form of the Seneca word for "elk"—*chinnoiindoh*.

The reader can decide for himself, therefore, whether or not the Ouasiota Mountains and the Ouasiota country meant to the Indians of the Ohio Valley in the seventeenth century anything more than a district where deer abounded; or whether Ouasiota was synonymous with Oniasont; and whether both were early names of the Scioto River and of the Indians who lived there.

In his writings on the Siouan Tribes of the East, Mr. James Mooney points out that the Catawbas' name for their own people was "Esaw" (Lawson, 1714) or "Issa" (Vandera, 1579); Lederer also gives it as "Us-

[1] Ramsey states that the ancient Indian name for the Cumberland River was Wariota, a misprint for Wasiota.—*Annals of Tennessee*, p. 87.

[2] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, ix., 102; Darlington, *Gist*, 117.

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hery" (in 1670), from the Catawba word, *iswa* meaning "river"; and denoting their residence on the principal stream of the region, *Iswa* being their only name for the Catawba and Wateree Rivers in South Carolina, where Vandera found them living in 1579. Mr. Mooney also, citing Horatio Hale's essay on the Tutelo language, states that "Yesah," "Yesan," or "Yesang," was the name given to themselves by the last surviving Tutelo tribesmen, and that it seems to have been the generic term used by all the tribes of this connection to designate themselves as a people.

At the time of John Lederer's explorations of the eastern Virginia mountains in 1670, he visited a tribe on the Upper Roanoke whom he called the Nahyssans. Mr. Hale and Mr. Mooney identify these Indians with the Monahassanugh or Monacans, located at the head of the James River on Smith's map of Virginia; and Mooney classes them with the Catawbas, Saponies, Tuteloes, and the other eastern Siouan tribes; stating that the prefix *ma*, *mo*, or *mon*, may be the same as the Siouan *man*, meaning "land" or "country." While similarities of sound in Indian names are not necessarily conclusive, it will be observed that, if we drop the "M" in Monahassanugh, instead of the "Mon," as Mr. Mooney suggests, the root of "Onahassanugh" is even more nearly identical in sound with the "Oniasont" of the French than with the "Nahyssan" of John Lederer's Latin; and by omitting the superfluous "O" in "Oniasont," we have "Niasont," a word nearly identical in sound with and possibly applied by the Iroquois to the same tribes which Lederer called "Nahyssan," and Smith "Monahassanugh."

Hence it would seem that all those Siouan tribes, who were afterwards known to the Delawares as Tuteloes, and to the Iroquois as Toteroes, may have been the same against whom the Senecas warned La Salle in 1669, telling him that they infested the country above the rapids of the Ohio River, and giving to them the name of Honniasontkeronons.

Both the Esaw (Catawbas) and the Yesah (Tuteloes) were the hereditary enemies of the Shawnees during most of the time the latter lived in the Ohio Valley; and if the early history of that Valley could be written, it would deal largely with the wars waged between the Shawnees and the Catawbas and Tuteloes. The Cuttawa (Kentucky) River, the Totteroy (Big Sandy), the Ouasiota Pass, the Kanawha route to the Ouasiota country, Catawba Creek in Botetourt County, Virginia, the Catawba, or Cuttawa, or Great Warriors' Trail, from the mouth of the Scioto to the Cumberland Gap, are all pregnant with significance, and form an index to prehistoric annals which will never be recovered—annals so tragic that we can well understand why the old Cherokee chief, Dragging Canoe, gave to Kentucky in 1775, the name of the "bloody ground,"

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at the time when he told Richard Henderson that it would be dark and difficult to settle.[1]

In his monograph on the *Cherokees in Pre-Columbian Times*, Dr. Cyrus Thomas advances the theory that the Cherokees (the Tallegewi of Heckewelder) reached the heads of the Tennessee River from the Ohio Valley by way of the Great Kanawha, and cites in proof the similarity between the great mound at Moundsville, the burial mounds in the Kanawha Valley, near Charleston, and those constructed by the earliest Cherokees in Eastern Tennessee and Western North Carolina. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the name of the Kanawha on the Spanish map of Lopez y Cruz (1755), is given as "Tchalaquei" (the earliest Spanish form of "Cherokee," from the Choctaw, *choluk*, a hollow or cave); while the Cherokee (now Tennessee) River itself is called "*Rio de los Cherakis.*"

At the great treaty at Lancaster in 1744 between the chiefs of the Six Nations and the Governor of Pennsylvania and Commissioners from Maryland and Virginia, Tachanoontia, an Onondaga counsellor, told the Virginia Commissioners on June 27th: "all the world knows we conquered the several nations living on Sasquahannah, Cohongoronta [Potomac], and on the back of the Great Mountains in Virginia. The Conoy-uch-such-roona, Coch-now-was-roonan, Tokoa-irough-roonan, and Connutskirr-ough-roonaw feel the effect of our conquests, being now a part of our nations, and their lands at our disposal."

Of the tribes mentioned in this list, the *Conoy-uch-such* are supposed by most writers to have been the Conoys, or Piscataweese, or Ganawese, of the Potomac, who settled in Pennsylvania after 1700. They or the *Coch-now-was* are thought to have borne a name similar to and identified with the Kanawha River. In this connection, a passage from Washington's *Journal* of 1770, may be cited, written while on his way down the Ohio to examine lands as far as to the Great Kanawha. Under date of October 24th, after leaving the mouth of Captina or Grape-vine Creek, Washington wrote: "About five miles from the Vine Creek comes in a very large creek to [from] the eastward, called by the Indians, Cut Creek [now Fish Creek, in Marshall County, West Virginia, about ten miles below Moundsville], from a town or tribe of Indians which, they say, was cut off entirely in a very bloody battle between them and the Six Nations. This creek empties just at the lower end of an island [Fish Creek Island]."

Cut Creek, or Fish Creek, is but a few miles below Grave Creek, at the mouth of which stands the Great Mound, from which the city of Moundsville takes its name. The legend of the great battle told to Washington by his Indian companions on this voyage down the river,

[1] *Virginia State Papers*, i., 283.

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and applied by him to what is now Fish Creek, was in all probability intended by them to apply to what is really Grave Creek, some five miles above Captina Creek; and to account for the existence of the great mound then and now standing there.

De l'Isle's map of New France (1703) shows *les Calicuas* (Tchaliquis or Cherokees) settled on the south side of the Ohio River in what is now West Virginia, and some distance above the *Tionontate-caga*. His map of Louisiana locates the Calicuas south of the Tionontate-caga, and on the south side of the Chaouanon or Cumberland River. These locations are copied from earlier maps of the seventeenth century and before, the most ancient of which that have come under the observation of the writer being that of Ortelius, issued in 1570, followed by Blaeuw, 1642, Merian, 1650 (?), etc. In the *Narrative* of De Soto's expedition of 1540–41, the two "provinces" of Caluca and Chalaque are mentioned, both in the Cherokee country. One of them was probably intended by the early map-makers when they attempted to designate the country of the Calicuas.

In Marquette's account of Joliet's discovery of the Mississippi, he writes that, about the first of July, 1673, the explorers arrived at the mouth of the Ohio, which Marquette calls the Ouabouskigou (Wabash). "This River," he says, "flows from the lands of the East, where dwell the people called Chaouanons, in so great numbers that in one district there are as many as twenty-three villages, and fifteen in another, quite near one another. They are not at all war-like, and are the nations whom the Iroquois go so far to seek, and war against without any reason; and because these poor people cannot defend themselves, they allow themselves to be captured and taken like flocks of sheep; and, innocent though they are, they nevertheless sometimes experience the barbarity of the Iroquois, who cruelly burn them."[1]

In the *Memoir* of the Marquis de Denonville on the French Limits in North America, presented to the King at Versailles, March 8, 1688, the writer refers to Fort St. Louis, "established," he says, "by said Sieur de la Salle, who had discovered the great River of Mississippi, and descended it as far as the South Sea. For the continuation of which trade, he caused a fort and buildings to be erected and a bark to be begun at a place called Crevecœur, in order to proceed as far as the said South Sea, two-thirds of which bark only were built, the said Sieur de la Salle having afterwards employed canoes for his trade in said countries, as he had already done for several years in the rivers Oyo [*i. e.*,near the mouth of the Ohio], Ouabache, and others in the surrounding neighborhood, which flow into the

[1] Dr. Shea, in commenting on this passage in Marquette's Journal, argues that the Shawnees were identical with the Eries (*Disc. Miss. Valley*, 41).

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said River Mississippi, whereof possession was taken by him in the King's name, as appears by the relations made thereof [in La Salle's *procès-verbal* at the mouth of the Mississippi]. The countries and rivers of *Oyo* or *Abache* and circumjacent territory were inhabited by our Indians, the Chaouanons, Miamis, and Illinois."

The Reverend J. F. St. Cosme, who accompanied Tonty and Vincennes on a voyage down the Mississippi in 1699, writes in his Journal that the party left Cape St. Antoine on the 14th of December, 1699. "On the 15th," he continues, "we halted for the night one league below the Ouabache [Ohio], a large and beautiful river which is on the left of the Micissipi and comes from towards the north, and is, they say, five hundred leagues long, and rises near the Sonontuans [Senecas]. They go by this River to the Chaouanons, who trade with the English."

On the 25th of October, Gravier passed the mouth of the River Mayot, [Margot], which French and Thwaites identify with the present Wolf River, falling into the Mississippi above Memphis. "A league or two lower," Gravier writes, "we found a pirogue of Taogria. These belong to the Loup nation, and carry on a considerable trade with the English. There were only six men in it, with a woman and a child. They were coming from the Akansea [Ohio]. He who seemed the most notable among them could say a few words of Illinois, and spoke the Chaouanoua tongue." These Taogria Indians were probably Shawnees. They were mentioned by La Harpe[1] as Taogarios, being "settled [in 1703] upon the Casquinambo [Tennessee] River, which flows into the Ouabacho [Ohio]." He states that these Indians had killed five Frenchmen, "at the instigation of some Englishmen, who were carrying on the trade which they had established with that nation."

De l'Isle's 1718 map of Louisiana shows a Tongoria Village (spelled Taogoria on Van Keulen's 1720 map of New France) located on the south side of the Ohio River, and another on the south side of the Tennessee, at the Forks. On Van Keulen's map of New France, the Tennessee settlement is called, *Villages des Chaouenons*. On Dr. James Smith's map of 1720 both Taogaria and Chaouenon villages are located on the Upper Tennessee, not far apart.

In Colden's *Five Nations*, however, that gentleman gives Tongoria as the French name for the Eries.

De l'Isle's maps of Louisiana (1718 and later) also show a tribe living south of the Ohio, within the territory of the present states of West Virginia and Kentucky, which he calls the Tionontate-caga. This was the name of the Tobacco tribe of the Hurons, better known since 1748 as the Wyandots. In the Jesuit *Relations* the name is variously spelled Tionnontate, Tionontate, Kionontate, Dinondadie, etc. Conrad Weiser

[1] *Journ. Hist.*, p. 81.

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called them the Ionontady-Haga or Wondats in the Journal of his visit to Logstown; the Mohawk term, *haga*, being synonymous with the Huron *ronon*, and meaning people, nation, or tribe. De l'Isle states on his map that the Tionontate-caga, whom he locates south of the Ohio, "live in caves, to protect themselves from the great heat." He really described the Cherokees under the name of the Wyandots, as it is now supposed the name of the former tribe, properly *Tsalagi* or *Tsaragi*, may be from the Choctaw *choluk* or chiluk, a hollow or cave, and as applied to the Cherokees, meaning "cave country people."

There is a striking resemblance between *Tsaragi*, as the Cherokees commonly call themselves, and *Tshoeragak*, the Onondaga word (meaning "raccoon," and usually translated by the French, *chat sauvage*, or "wildcat") which was applied by the Five Nations to the Erigheks, or Eries, as their tribal name.

The generic name of the tribes whom the French called Hurons, was Wondat, or Ouendat, which has since been corrupted to Vendat, Yendat, Junundat, Guyandotte, and, finally, to Wyandot. The name of the Guyandotte River in West Virginia, (spelled Guyandot on Evans's map of 1755) near the Kentucky line, confirms the accuracy of De l'Isle's map, by perpetuating the probable fact of the residence before 1755 of a portion of the Wyandot tribe, or the Tionontate-caga, south of the Ohio; although it is possible the name may have been applied to that tributary merely because it was one of the routes taken by the Wyandot Hurons on their war expedition against the Southern Indians.[1]

Sabrevois's *Memoir on the Indians of Canada in 1718* relates that, "A hundred leagues from Niagara, on the south side, is a river called Sandosquet which the Indians of Detroit and Lake Huron take when going to war with the Flat-heads and other nations towards Carolina, such as the Cheraquis, (the Indians residing on the River Casquinampo [Tennessee]), and the Chaouanons. They ascend this Sandosquet River two or three days, after which they make a small portage, a fine road of about a quarter of a league. Some make canoes of elm bark and float down a small river [Scioto] that empties into the Ohio, which means Beautiful River. It is indeed beautiful, for it is nearly a quarter of a league in width, with a fine current, without rapids, except one of about half an acre; and this River falls into the Ouabache, thence into the Mississippi forty leagues below the village of Rouinsac, where the Fathers are settled, and where some Frenchmen live. This Ohio, or Beautiful River, rises thirty leagues below the Seneca nation. Beyond Fort des Sables on Lake Ontario and near the River Aux Bœufs is a river that

[1] It will be noticed that the Guyandotte is called "Warren Creek, or Kiandot" on the "Traders' Map," printed in this volume. Could it have been so named after Edward Warren, one of the Allegheny Traders in 1731?

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flows into this Beautiful River. Whoever would wish to reach the Mississippi easily would need only to take this Beautiful River, or the Sandosquet; he could travel without any danger of fasting, for all who have been there [Indians or French?] have repeatedly assured me that there is so vast a quantity of Buffalo and of all other animals in the woods along that Beautiful River, they were often obliged to discharge their guns to clear a passage for themselves. . . . The River Ohio, or Beautiful River, is the route which the Iroquois take. It would be of importance that they should not have such intercourse, as it is very dangerous."

If the writer is not mistaken in his conclusions, the first white men who travelled on and explored the Upper Ohio were Arnold Viele, the Dutch Trader of Albany, and his eleven white companions, who left Albany in the autumn of 1692, accompanied by a party of Mohicans and a few Shawnees, proceeding by way of Esopus to the Minisink, and thence by way of the Wyoming Valley and the Susquehanna River to the Allegheny, and down that stream and the Ohio to the country of the Shawnees. Their country, so late as 1683 or 1684, we know to have been between the Ohio and the Cumberland Rivers. From there the New Yorkers returned in the summer of 1694, bringing with them a large number of Shawnees, who afterwards settled at Pechoquealin above the Delaware Water Gap.

The published and manuscript references to this journey to be found in the New York records have already been cited, in the chapter on the Shawnees. An additional document, found in the correspondence of Iberville, the founder of the colony of Louisiana, furnishes us with further information, and enables us to determine with some degree of positiveness the direction in which Viele's party travelled after leaving the Minisink country. This document is a letter written by Iberville to the French Minister, dated at Rochelle, in France, August 30, 1699. It reads in part as follows:

My Lord:

I have received the chart you kindly sent me of the River Saint-Esprit, [the early Spanish name for the Mississippi and the French name for the Mobile]. I do not know what to think of it; nor of the discovery of the English and the French Refugees. I am well aware that some men, twelve in number, and some Maheingans, who are savages whom we call Loups, started seven years ago from New York, in order to ascend the River Andaste [Susquehanna], in the Province of Pennsylvania, as far as the River Ohio, which is said to join the Ouabache, emptying together into the Mississippi. This is the opinion given by all the Frenchmen who have travelled in these quarters. To their opinion I give no credence, I never having been able to approach the Ohio enough to know this River, which the savages call a very beautiful one, and where the Sonnontouans go often hunting.

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CHAPTER V

THE LOWER SHAWNEE TOWN; OR CHILLICOTHE ON THE OHIO

IN the sixth chapter of volume one is printed a letter from the Shawnees at Allegheny to Governor Gordon, of Pennsylvania, written in June, 1732, in which they state that about five years before, the Five Nations had ordered them, the Shawnees, to "look [remove] back toward Ohio, the place from whence you came." This statement and the citations which have been given in the preceding chapters would seem to indicate that before the dispersion of the Shawnees by the Iroquois in the seventeenth century, a dispersion which Charlevoix says took place in 1672, the seat of their principal villages was along the Cumberland and Ohio Rivers, between the mouths of the Muskingum and the Wabash. How many of the works of the so-called Mound Builders in the valleys of the Muskingum, the Scioto, and the Miamis, were really the work of the early Shawnees living there, is, of course, impossible to say; but it is probable that many of them were. Some, probably, were made by the Cherokees, or Tsalagi (the Tallegewi of Hechewelder), whose territories formerly extended north at least as far as the Ohio River. But the most of them seem to have been the works of tribes now extinct, of which the Mosopelea may have been one.

The territory of the lower Scioto Valley in the seventeenth century was doubtless the most important strategic centre on the Ohio River, and if its history could be fully revealed it would go a great ways toward clearing up the mystery of the Ohio Valley mounds. It became important again during the fourth decade of the eighteenth century, when the Lower Shawnee Town was built there, and, after the abandonment of Logstown, continued to be a chief centre of Indian influence and intrigue west of the Alleghanies for more than twenty-five years.

The Great Warriors' Trail led southward from the Lower Shawnee Town to Warriors' Branch, or North Fork, of the Kentucky River, thence up the River to the War Gap in the mountain ridge in what are now Clay and Perry Counties, Kentucky; thence southwest to the Skipakicipi, or Wasiota, or Shawnee, or Cumberland River; thence south to the

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Ouasiota or Cumberland Gap; thence to and by way of the French Broad River to the Catawba country.[1]

The first white men to visit this point, who have left any record of their visit, were those composing the French expedition down the Ohio River, conducted by Chaussegros de Lery in 1729. A meagre record of the journey of 1729 has been preserved, in the map of Nicholas Bellin, printed in Charlevoix's *History of New France.* This is called a "Map of Louisiana, the Course of the Mississippi, and the Adjacent Country"; bears the date of 1744, and is reproduced on the opposite page.

In the *Remarques sur la Carte de l'Amerique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1755), Bellin gives the following brief description of De Lery's journey down the Ohio River:

"The Ohio receives many small rivulets from the right and from the left, and it is useless to go into a detailed description of same. I would remark only, that fifty miles above the mouth of the Ouabache there are rapids, or a cascade, about two miles long, and it is said that these are the only considerable rapids existing throughout the entire course of this beautiful river, which is navigable at all times, and upon the borders of which there are found a number of villages [in 1749] of savages allied to the French establishment, as Le Baril, Sonhioto, Chiningue. . . .

"I am indebted for the topographical details of the course of this River to M. de Lery, Engineer, who surveyed it with the compass at the time that he descended it with a detachment of French troops in 1729,[2] and also, to R. P. Bonnecamp, a Jesuit Mathematician, with whom I have spoken, and who has traversed the River in its entire length, and surveyed with a great deal of care its course from Kaknouangon down to the Riviere a la Roche [in 1749], in taking observations of the latitude in a great many places, and estimating the wind currents and the distances, with as much precision as possible."

Mr. Darlington, who based his statement of De Lery's voyage down the Ohio on this paragraph by Bellin (although he does not cite his authority) has confused the journey of De Lery in 1729 with that of Bonnecamps and Celoron in 1749, and states that De Lery went only so far as to the mouth of the Great Miami.[3]

Bellin's map of 1743–44 (a copy of which is printed on the next page), based on the observations of De Lery in 1729, shows the source of the "Oyo" as midway between the Genesee River and Lake Erie; depicts "Lac Niatackonn" (Chautauqua), with an outlet into "Riviere Kana-

[1] Darlington's *Gist*, p. 131.

[2] "Je dois le detail Topograhique du cours de cette riviere a M. de Lery, Ingenieur, qui la releva a la Boussole lorqu'il la descendit avec un detachment de Troupes Françoises en 1729."

[3] *Gist's Journals*, p. 27.

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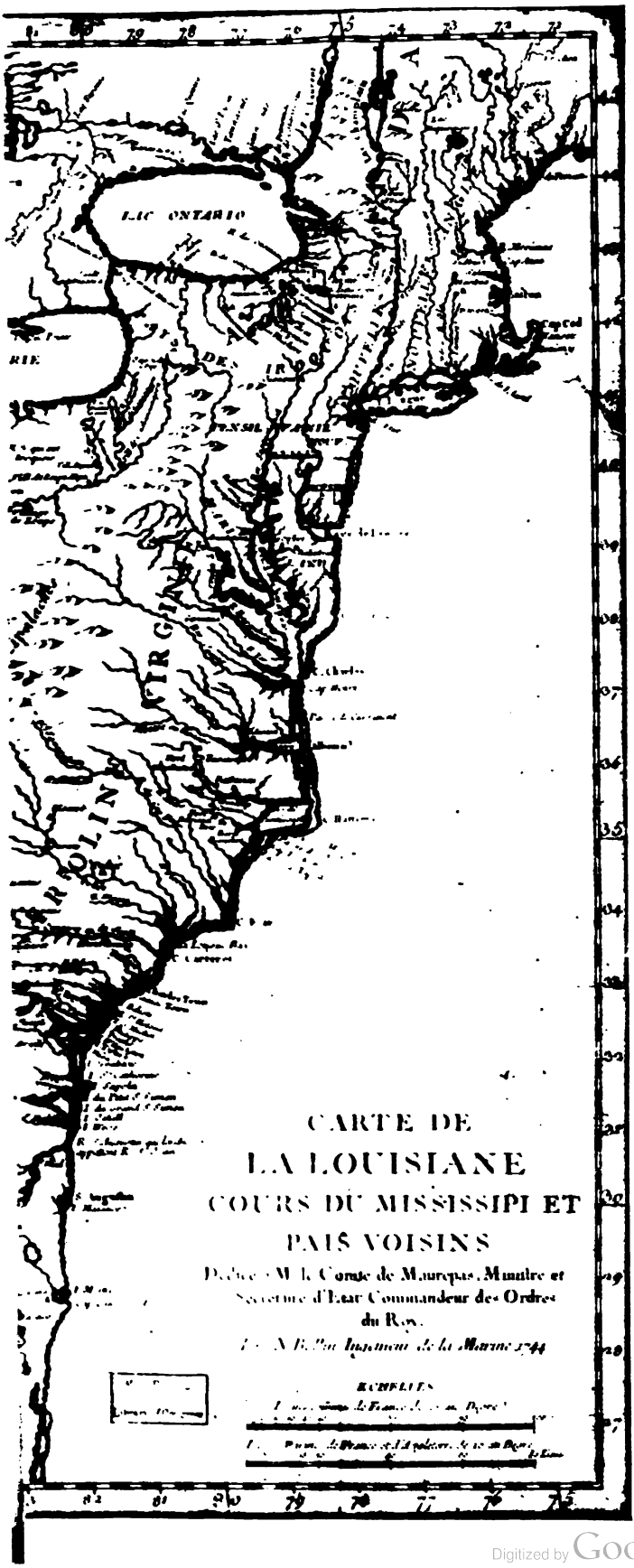

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vangon." The latter stream flows into the "Oyo" (Allegheny) between a "Vill. de Gachunannagon" and "Kanavangon."[1] Somewhat lower down, "Riviere au. Beuf" is shown, with a "Vill. Atigue," on its left bank, some miles above its mouth. Immediately below its mouth, on the west bank of the Oyo, another "Vill. de Loups, Atiga" (Kittanning) is located. The true site of Atiga or Kittanning, however, was considerably farther down the River than is indicated on this map, and the main town stood on the east bank.

Some distance below "Atiga," another "Village de Loups," is shown, on the east bank; and below this, on the opposite bank, a "Village Chouanon," undoubtedly intended for Chartier's Town; although both these villages are placed in a position on the Ohio which brings them south of the middle of Lake Erie.

Below the Shawnee Village, a southern tributary of the Ohio is set down, which may be intended for the Monongahela. Two rivers are then shown flowing into the Oyo from the north, both of which rise near the western extremity of Lake Erie. The first of these is called the "Chiagnez," (this is spelled "Chiagues" on Bellin's map of Canada of the same year); and the second, the "Chianouske."[2] On his map of Canada, these rivers are both connected by short portages with the Lake.

One of them is intended for the Muskingum, and the other for the Scioto. A considerable distance below the mouth of the westernmost of these two rivers, another stream enters the Oyo from the South. This is called "Riviere Cachiqueto," and may be intended for the Kentucky. Not far below another river is shown, also flowing from the South. Between this and the Louisville Rapids, (indicated on Bellin's map as "Sault, ou chute d'eau"), appears a legend reading as follows: *Endroit où on a trouve des os d'elephant en 1729*—"the place where they found the elephant bones in 1729." This was Big Bone Lick, near the mouth of Big Bone Creek, some ninety-four miles above the rapids. The date marks the first recorded discovery by white men of these mastodon remains, large quantities of which were afterwards removed by Traders and early visitors to Kentucky.

The name, "Chianouske," given to the Scioto on Bellin's map of 1744 was doubtless the name by which it was known to the French explorers of 1729. On Adair's map of the American Indian Nations, the Muskingum, Scioto, and Miami are named respectively the Chiagues, the Shanouski, and the Myamis. D'Anville's 1746 Map of North America also calls the Scioto the Shanouske. This name, by which the Scioto was first known to the white man, looks like another form of the name, "Sandosquet," applied by Sabrevois in 1718 to the stream by which

[1] Visited by Celoron in 1749 and by him called Kanaouagon (now Conewango).

[2] They are copied on Kitchin's map of 1747.

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the Scioto connected with Lake Erie, a short portage between the heads of the two rivers enabling the Indians to pass from Lake Erie to the Ohio in their canoes, with but a slight interruption to the water journey. The river forming the upper stage of this portage route has retained the name given by the French explorers in 1729 to the more important stream at the south end of the route, and is known to this day as the Sandusky. Otsandoske, Ostandousket, Sandoske, Sandousche, Sandesque, Sandosket, and other variations of the word were used in colonial times, before it assumed its present form.

John Johnston, the Government Indian Agent for Ohio and Indiana from 1812 to 1842, contributed a vocabulary of the Shawnee and Wyandot languages to the American Antiquarian Society publications, which is reprinted in Howe's *Ohio*. He states that Sandusky is from the Wyandot (Huron) words, "Sa-un-dos-tee," meaning "water within water pools"—an interpretation that correctly described Sandusky Bay and the marshes surrounding it, and may or may not be the correct one.

When Celoron descended the Ohio in 1749, he applied to the Big Kanawha the name, "Chinondaista," the English pronunciation of which would be "Shanondaista." This, like "Chianouske," was similar to the Wyandot word *Sa-un-dos-tee*, now called Sandusky.

On Bonnecamps's map of the Ohio River (1749), the Muskingum is called, "R. Yenangue konnan." Darlington states that on Bellin's map in the originial edition of Charlevoix (1744) it is named, "Chenangue." This is not correct; although it is possible Mr. Darlington may have seen a Bellin map with the name so spelled. In commenting on this name, Darlington says[1]: "The meaning clearly is from the Iroquois; from *ynango*—tobacco; and *konan*—people [place]; or river on which the Tobacco People—Wyandots or Petuns—have a town. . . . It is probable that wherever the name Chenango occurs in early times or on early maps, it indicates a town of the Tobacco tribe—Wyandots—or of a place where Indian tobacco was cultivated."[2] It has been stated above, that the Huron and Iroquois name for the Tobacco tribe of the Hurons was Tionnontate. Variations of this name which occur in the English records from 1747 to 1753 include Chenundadee, Chenondadee, Jenundadee, Inondadese, and Younondady. Is it possible that Chianouske, which Bellin applied to the Scioto in 1744, and Chinondaista, which Celoron applied to the Kanawha in 1749, were both like Chenangue in meaning, and referred in some way to the Wyandots?

The map of Nicholas Bellin is our earliest map showing any direct knowledge of the valley of the Ohio River above the mouth of the Wabash,

[1] *Gist's Journals*, 107.

[2] Hewitt gives the meaning of Chenango as "large bull thistles," from the Seneca, *Ochenango*.

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and it represents the extent of the knowledge of that river acquired by the French between 1669 and 1744. It is not certain that all the Indian towns indicated on the map were there as early as 1729; but the most of them were. Chartier's, or the Shawnee Town, may possibly have been built that early, but probably a few years later. Atiga, or Kittanning, was there in 1723 or 1724. The two rivers, Chiagnes and Chianouske, were doubtless so named by the leader of the French Expedition of 1729, from their Indian names. It is significant that no towns are shown as being located on either stream. While it is not conclusive proof, this is a strong indication that the Lower Shawnee Town was not built until after that date.

It was certainly in existence before the end of the next decade, however; for when Celoron visited there in August, 1749, he upbraided the Shawnees for not being so friendly to the French as they were in 1739. "What has become, Chaouanons," he asked them, "of the good disposition which you had ten years ago, when M. de Longueuil passed by here to go to the Chicashas? You came to meet him and by all sorts of ways showed him the good-will of your hearts and sentiments. He even raised a troop of your young men to follow him. Yet he had not given you notice of his arrival. But you had, at that time, a French heart; and to-day, you let it be corrupted by the English, who dwell among you continually, and who, under pretext of furnishing you supplies, seek your destruction."

The record on the Bellin map of the French voyage down the Ohio in 1729 and these words of Celoron serve to fix the date of the building of the Lower Shawnee Town as between 1729 and 1739. If the Shaweygila band who fled from Sewickley Town on the Monongahela in 1735 had anything to do with its building, then we could set the date with some degree of positiveness as in that year.

For reasons that have been pointed out in the chapter on the Shawnees, it is probable that the Indians' name for this settlement was Chillicothe. It was always called by the Pennsylvania Traders the Lower Shawnee Town. In 1750 the town was located on both banks of the Ohio and the west bank of the Scioto, at and opposite the old mouth of the latter stream (which was about a mile below the present mouth), and on that side of the Scioto opposite from the present city of Portsmouth, Ohio. It was destroyed by an overflow of the Scioto River in the winter of 1752 or 1753; and later rebuilt by the Shawnees on the opposite side of that river.[1]

The Shaweygila band of Shawnees from South Carolina who went to the Ohio River from the Potomac in 1730 or 1731 and joined the settle-

[1] See Croghan's *Journal of 1765*, p. 133, Thwaites's edition. Thwaites says the date of the overflow was 1753. (*Storied Ohio*, 152).

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ments of those Shawnees on the Conemaugh who had come from the Susquehanna, may possibly have been a part of the tribe which built the Lower Shawnee Town; but it is hardly probable. It will be remembered that when the Shaweygila clan killed a chief of the Six Nations at Allegheny in 1734, they were reported to have fled to the southward, fearing the vengeance of the Iroquois, and it was "supposed that they had returned to the place from whence they first came, which was below Carolina." Dr. Brinton, in his article on the Migrations of the Shawnees [1] was of the opinion that these Shawnees left the South in 1730, coming by way of the Great Warriors', or Catawba, Trail, through Cumberland Gap into Kentucky. Here, he says, a portion of them separated from the main body, and continued north to Western Pennsylvania, where they arrived in 1731, and were known as the Shaweygira band (Shaweygila in the Delaware tongue). The remainder, he thinks, established the town of Lulbegrud (so called by Brinton), in what is now Clark County, Kentucky. This town, which is shown on Evans's map of 1755 under its Shawnee name of Eskippakithiki, stood on or near Lulbegrud Creek which runs into the Red River branch of the Kentucky. By the Traders it was called the Little Pict Town.

From what has been stated in a former chapter it is certain that the Shaweygila were none other than the Sewickaleys or Asswikales, as they were called by James Le Tort in October, 1731, when he reported to the Governor that fifty of their families were settled at Allegheny, "lately from South Carolina to Ptwomack, and from thence thither." That being the case, Dr. Brinton's theory is, of course, incorrect so far as it relates to their travels northward.

In a conference held between John and Thomas Penn and Hetaquantagechty, the Seneca chief, at Philadelphia, October 15, 1734, the latter stated that the Six Nations were desired by the Pennsylvania Government, at the time of the last treaty, to prevail with the Shawnees to leave the Allegheny and return towards the Susquehanna. "For this purpose, they sent messengers to the Shawanese, who answered that they would remove further to the northward, towards the French country; whereupon, some chiefs of the Six Nations set out to speak with them and they met together; but he cannot tell what was the result of this meeting. That he had understood when the Shawanese were desired to leave Allegheny, they sent a belt of wampum to the Delaware Indians, intimating to them that as they, the Shawanese, were to seek out a new country for themselves, they should be glad to have the Delawares with them. That Sassoonan, the Delaware chief, had forbid any of his people to go with the Shawanese, and had desired that these last mentioned Indians should rather return to the Sasquehannah."

[1] *Historical Magazine*, x., 1.

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In April, 1772, Sir William Johnson wrote to Lord Hillsborough, informing him of a Great Council which had been held on the Scioto Plains late in the year 1770, between a number of Indian tribes and the Six Nations. Thomas King, one of the Six Nations chiefs, upon his arrival at Scioto, assembled all the nations, "and first addressed the Shawanese whom he upbraided for retiring so far down the Ohio. . . . The Shawanese answered, that the Six Nations had long seemed to neglect them, and to disregard the promise they formerly made of giving them the lands between the Ohio and the Lakes; that thus distressed, they went on board of their canoes, determined to go whithersoever fortune should drive them; but were stopped (many years since) at Scioto by the Six Nations, who shook them by the heads and fixed them there, charging them to live in peace with the English." Whether the Shawnees at this time referred to their departure from Logstown in 1758, from Chartier's Town in 1745, or to an earlier emigration, when the Lower Shawnee Town was established, must be a matter of conjecture.

The Sieur de Begon wrote to the French Ministry from Quebec, September 13, 1715, reporting that "Father Mermet, a Jesuit missionary to the Illinois [then settled at Kaskaskia], writes respecting the encroachments of the English in the Rivers Ouabache [Ohio] and Mississippi, where they are building three forts." On May 7, 1726, Longueuil wrote that he had learned "that the English of Carolina had built two houses and some stores on a little river that flows into the Ouabache, where they trade with the Miamis, the Ouyatanons, and other Indians of the Upper Country." On June 21, 1737, Bienville, Governor of Louisiana, wrote to the Minister: "The Piankeshaws, in whose country we have a post, where the late Sieur de Vincennes commanded [from 1733, the date of its establishment], have almost all left their village since his death, with the exception of about fifteen men, who are still with Sieur de St. Ange. They have gone higher up the Ouabache to another village. I foresee that since this station shrinks we will be troubled by the Chikachas in this post, which has a weak garrison. This circumstance, and the recent and repeated attempts of the English to penetrate the Colony by the River Ohio, by which they descend to the Ouabache, determine me to relocate this Fort, forty leagues lower down, at the mouth of this River."

In the French *Enumeration of Indian Tribes connected [1736] with the Government of Canada*, the authorship of which has been variously assigned to Joncaire, Chauvigniere, and Celoron the younger, the list of tribes living on the south side of Lake Erie includes the "Chaouanons, towards Carolina, two hundred men." Did these two hundred Shawnees live at the mouth of the Scioto?

The first recorded visit of white men to the Lower Shawnee Town was

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that of the French expedition led by Longueuil from Montreal in the summer of 1739, to which Celoron referred when he visited the mouth of the Scioto in August, 1749.

So far as the writer has been able to discover, no history of this journey has been published heretofore, beyond some scattered references to its beginning, and some account of the operations of its participants after they had joined Bienville on the Mississippi, in his campaign against the Chickasaws. On June 10, 1739, Beauharnois wrote to the Minister from Montreal: "The re-enforcement I am sending to M. de Bienville is on the eve of starting. As soon as they will have left, M. le Baron de Longueuil,[1] his nephew, will be in charge. I will have the honor to keep you posted. This will take three or four days. They take the direction of La Belle Riviere, which they will strike thirty leagues south of Niagara, at a portage of four leagues, which brings them to Lake Ste. Croix [another name for Chautauqua]." Twenty days later, Beauharnois wrote the Minister again: "M. le Baron de Longueuil is gone with all our warriors, to join M. de Bienville. I have the honor to send you the roll[2] and the list of the Indians who will join them later on.

"I have taken the necessary steps for the tribes along the Lakes. I hope that they will be numerous. . . . I have received, My Lord, letters from M. de Celoron, the 20th and 24th. He expects that he will assemble quite a number of young warriors."

Concerning the progress of the expedition, the Intendant, Hocquart, wrote the Ministry September 30th:

"The last news I got from M. de Longueuil's detachment is dated the 4th of August. He was then at the entrance of Lake Erie. If no mishap has occurred, M. de Longueuil must now be arrived at the place of meeting.

"When it left Montreal this detachment was composed of 442 men, according to the annexed roll. This number is diminished, a great number of Abenakis and Mohawks from the Two Mountains Lake having deserted. M. de Longueuil estimated this loss at seventy. A few more Indians will probably have deserted; but he hopes to regain his number by the junction of 100 Mohawks of the Five Nations, who will meet him at La Belle Riviere.

"The organization was prepared in Montreal with all possible speed,

[1] Charles Le Moyne, son of an innkeeper of Dieppe, was the founder of this celebrated family. Of his eleven sons, Charles was the first Baron de Longueuil and father of the commander of this expedition; the others were Iberville (founder of Louisiana), Saint Helene, Maricourt, François de Bienville, Serigny, Sauvole, Louis de Chateaugay, Jean Baptiste de Bienville (who was known as the Father of Louisiana), d'Assigny, and Antoine de Chateaugay. See *Buffalo Hist. Soc. Publications*, ix., 162–63. Reed's *First Great Canadian*, p. 30.

[2] It is printed in the *Calendar of Canadian Archives for 1905*, vol. i., p. 459.

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and in order to make sure, the day fixed for the meeting it was decided to take the south shore of Lake Ontario as the shorter route. The Indians promised that they would not stop at Choueguen [Oswego], but did not keep their promise. The temptation of the brandy was beyond them; drunkenness has caused the desertion of a great many. . . .

"All the soldiers of the expedition applied for service, and their number would have been large if all demands had been granted. . . . I cannot say as much for the habitants. They have judged this war so hard and lengthy (and so it is), that it was necessary to use force to oblige them to march. Nevertheless, M. de Longueuil does not complain about them, and it is believed that they will serve well.

"The General is more fully informed than I am about the aid which M. de Celoron, commandant at Michillimakinac, and the other commanding officers in the posts, have given to M. de Bienville, and has without doubt the honor to make you acquainted with."

There is no mention in the records of the Pennsylvania Government of the passage of Longueuil's expedition down the Ohio; but on August 30, 1739, George Clarke, Governor of New York Province, wrote to the British Lords of Trade that, about a month before, he had received intelligence, "that a party of French and Indians were marched from Canada, with a design to attack the Cherickees and other Indians lying on the back of Carolina and Georgia under his Majesty's protection; that it was given out that they were to be joined by other French and Indians from Mississippi; of which I sent immediate notice to the Governors of Virginia and Carolina, and to General Oglethorpe, hoping they may, as I believe they will, have time enough to give those Indians intelligence, that they may either be prepared for their enemies or retreat, as they find it necessary. Some of our young Mohawks joined the party from Canada, contrary to their promises; not being to be retained by the advice or perswasion of their Sachaims."

Beauharnois wrote the Minister November 6, 1739: "Monsieur de Celoron writes me from the Kiakiqui [Kankakee] on the 12th of August, that his party consisted of 143 picked men, 40 of whom were French; and that he expected to increase it by more than 30 men in passing through the Maskoutins." Pierre Joseph Celoron at that time was Commandant at Michillimackinac, from whence he was leading a party of warriors to join Bienville on the Mississippi. His younger brother, Jean Baptiste Celoron, Sieur de Blainville, commanded at Mackinac during his absence. Doubtless on the Chickasaw campaign Celoron the elder got some information from Longueuil as to the incidents of his voyage down the Ohio; and this information became of value to him when he undertook a similar expedition to the mouth of the Great Miami ten years later.

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In the chapter on Kittanning is given an account of Peter Chartier's desertion to the French and his flight down the Ohio River from Chartier's Old Town in April, 1745. He was accompanied by some three or four hundred of the Shawnees. On reaching the Lower Shawnee Town at the mouth of the Scioto, they decided to make a new settlement a short distance away. Proceeding southwards along the Catawba Trail, they established a town about a mile west of the oil spring on what was afterwards called Lulbegrud Creek, a northern tributary of the Red River of Kentucky, about twelve miles east of the site of the present town of Winchester, Clark County. The late Dr. Lyman C. Draper collected in his lifetime a considerable amount of information about this settlement which he embodied in his unpublished *Life of Daniel Boone*, the manuscript copy of which belongs to the Wisconsin Historical Society. Draper's account of the settlement on Lulbegrud Creek is given in the chapter on John Finley.

John Ellis, an Indian Trader in the Catawba country in Upper South Carolina, sent a message to the Governor of Virginia on behalf of the Catawbas, May 10, 1746, desiring that ammunition be sent, to enable them "to stand the brunt of Peter Chatie and his 500 men, and the other troops which he expects to assist him." James Adair, in his *History of the American Indians*, wrote in 1775: "In the year 1747 I headed a company of the cheerful, brave Chikkasah, with the eagles' tails, to the camp of the Shawano Indians, to apprehend one, Peter Shartie (a Frenchman), who, by his artful paintings and the supine conduct of the Pennsylvania Government had decoyed a large body of the Shawano from the English to the French interest. But, fearing the consequences he went round an hundred miles toward the Cheerake nation, with his family and the head warriors, and thereby evaded the danger. . . . At the Shawano main camp I saw a Pennsylvanian, a white man by birth, and in profession a Christian, who, by the inclemency of the sun, and his endeavors of improving the red colour, was tarnished with as deep an Indian hue as any of the camp, though they had been in the woods only the space of four years [two years, in 1747]." In another place Adair writes: "Formerly, about fifty miles to the northeast of the Chikkasah country, I saw the chief part of the main camp of the Shawano, consisting of about 450 persons, on a tedious ramble to the Musckogee country, where they settled, seventy miles above the Alabama garrison. They had been straggling in the woods for the space of four years, as they assured me; yet in general they were more corpulent than the Chikkasah who accompanied me, notwithstanding they had lived during that time on the wild products of the American deserts."

The French Minister wrote from Versailles to La Galissoniere the Governor of Canada, February 23, 1748: "The Chaouanon savages,

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after residing a long while at Detroit, decided several years ago to leave that post and go and settle in the direction of La Belle Riviere." The Minister may have referred to that band of Shawnees (?) who, under the name of Ouchaouanag, had been reported in the Jesuit *Relation* for 1648 as living with the Fire Nation or Mascoutins, then settled west of the Detroit River. But these had evidently been driven to the South long before La Salle settled on the Illinois. The Minister's letter proceeds: "They were led to determine upon such removal by quarrels that had arisen between them and the other savages. Those quarrels are now over; but those savages have always kept aloof from the post [Detroit itself was established in 1701, after the Shawnees of La Salle's establishment had left the Illinois country and settled on the Susquehanna and Delaware]. Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois carried on negotiations for a long time to get them to return; but, owing to the influence of the English, into whose hands their trade had passed, all such negotiations were unsuccessful, although, at various times, they held out hopes either that they would resume their former residence at Detroit, or would merely draw closer to it, to come back under French domination, after completely separating from the English. But, about three years ago, and at the time when they seemed determined to follow the latter decision, and had even caused Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois to be informed of it, they decided to go to the Illinois [then settled at Kaskaskia]. They accordingly asked Monsieur de Vaudreuil, Governor of Louisiana, to have a fort built on the Ouabache River, where they offered to gather all together, and to join the Kickapous and Mascoutins, nations that had long been attached to the French. . . . But it is reported that since the War, they have been joined by a considerable number of savages of all nations, forming a sort of republic [at Lower Shawnee Town], dominated by some Iroquois of the Five Nations who form part of it; and that, as the English almost entirely supply their needs, it is to be feared that they may succeed in seducing them."

The Minister who wrote this letter was succeeded the next year by the Count de Jouy. The latter wrote on May 4, 1749, to La Jonquiere, the successor of Governor La Galissoniere, replying to some letters he had received from that former governor of Canada, dated September 24, October 23, and November 8, 1748. "In the first of such letters," writes the Minister, "he reported what related to the Chaouanons; and stated that the lack of goods, and the antipathy of most of the other nations to them, had decided them [Chartier's party] to separate into two bands, one of which has established itself at Sonontio [Scioto], where it forms a sort of republic, with a fairly large number of characters of various nations who have retired thither; while the other went in the direction of the Cherakis. By the letters of Monsieur de Vaudreuil, Governor of

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Louisiana, we have learned that the latter band, after ascending a part of the River of the Cherakis, decided to go and join the Alibamons, where it appeared to have behaved well; and, as that Governor adds that the quarrel it had had with the Illinois was ended, there is reason to believe there is nothing to fear from it. It is not quite the same with the band that has gone to Sonontio. In fact, there is reason to fear that the bad example of the savages who have joined it, and of whom the Governor of New York made use during the War to stir up the nations and cause them to undertake expeditions against the French, will lead that band to do something evil; and for that reason, it is greatly to be desired that it be reunited to the remainder of the nation, either in Canada or in Louisiana. With regard to the sort of republic formed at Sonontio, if you succeed in inducing the Chaouanons to leave, it will be weakened to such an extent that it need no longer be feared. In any case, the King greatly approved the step taken by Monsieur the Comte de la Galissoniere, who wrote to the Governor of New York that if he continued to use the savages composing it to carry on incursions against the French, he would take revenge for it against his colony; and there is reason to believe this will restrain him."[1]

In the Journal of Occurrences in Canada from November 8, 1747, to October 9, 1748, transmitted by La Galissoniere to the Ministry, the Governor writes that he is in receipt of letters from Chevalier de Longueuil, Commandant at Detroit, dated August 24th and 25th, 1747, from which the following is an extract: "The Hurons [Wyandots] of Sandosket, and of Nicolas's band, continue insolent; this chief is unceasing in his efforts to gain allies. . . . The same Nicolas sent back the people of La Riviere Blanche [Cuyahoga] who were on their way to Detroit on account of the five Frenchmen killed by the Hurons. He likewise persuaded twenty-seven Chaouenons to turn back who were coming to answer M. de Longueuil's message; and as the sole result of the expenses incurred for that nation (of the village of Sonnioto), he saw one Chaouenon arrive on the 23d of August, in company with three Iroquois. . . . Kinousaki, an Outaouas chief who is attached to us, has said that no matter how things would turn, the Chaouenons would never consent to leave their village of Sonnioto, which circumstance would be favorable to us. . . . The intelligence from the Illinois is equally interesting. Chevalier de Berthet, the Commandant, writes us from Caskaquias, the 11th of August [1747]. . . . M. de Berthet has been informed by a Huron returning from the Chicachas War, who had spent the winter at Sonnioto, with the Chaouenons, of the league formed by the latter to destroy the Upper Country posts. . . . *La Demoiselle*, the Miamis chief, is the concocter of this league. . . . M. de Berthet writes us in the months of November

[1] *Wis. Hist. Col.*, xviii., 11, 20, 21.

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and December, about the general conspiracy of the Indians against the French. . . . The Chaouenons of Chartier's tribe, so far from coming to Detroit according to invitation, have surprised some distant establishment on the River of the Cheraquis. They are reported to be in fort with the Cheraquis and Alibanons; though this Chartier, who has much influence over this tribe, excuses that evasion, assuring that it will not be prejudicial to the attachment of these Indians towards the French. 'T is to be feared either that he is not able to control them, or that he will, himself, change his opinion."

June 24, 1760, Vaudreuil wrote to the French Minister from Montreal, giving him an account of the news he had received from M. de MacCarty, Commandant at Fort Chartres: "In the last days of the month of June of last year, five Chaouoinons of Charretier's band came to him and told him there were forty of their cabins in the River, coming to ask him for a piece of ground, as theirs was not good. M. de MacCarty sent some provisions to those Indians, whom he placed near Fort Massiac [near the site of the present Metropolis City, Illinois]. They were more useful and less dangerous there than when collected together at Sonyote [Scioto]. They have taken at different times, four prisoners, ten scalps; but being menaced by a strong party of the enemy, they have abandoned Fort Massiac in the beginning of October, and retired towards the Illinois."

Whether or not Pierre Chartier, *dit* la Victoire, "a deserter, who has behaved well in Acadie since his desertion," for whom De Vaudreuil asked the French King for a pardon November 6, 1755, was identical with Peter Chartier, the Trader, the writer has not been able to ascertain. The pardon was granted the following March. Dr. Thwaites states that habitants of the same name (Pierre Chartier) were living in Illinois in 1790.

A portion of Chartier's band of Shawnees returned to Logstown before the summer of 1748. In the instructions given by the Acting Governor of Pennsylvania to Conrad Weiser before his departure for Logstown in August of that year, he was told, "to make particular enquiry into the behavior of the Shawonese since the commencement of the War [against the French], and in relation to the countenance they gave to Peter Chartier. It is proper to tell you that they relented, made acknowledgment to the Government of their error in being seduced by Peter Chartier, and prayed they might be permitted to return to their old Town, and be taken again as sincere penitents into the favor of the Government."

A short time after these instructions had been delivered, and before he had set out for the Ohio, Weiser wrote to the Council, stating that a party of eighteen Mingoes, Shawnees, and Twightwees from the Ohio

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were then on the road, near Lancaster, and wished to have a meeting with the Provincial authorities at that place. The Council accordingly appointed four Commissioners to treat with the Indians, and issued to them instructions, of which the following was a part: "As to the Shawonese you are to enquire very exactly after their conduct since the commencement of the War, and what lengths they went in favor of Peter Chartier; where he is; and what he has been doing all this time; and be careful that these people acknowledge their fault in plain terms, and promise never to be guilty of any behaviour again that may give such reason to suspect their fidelity."

The Commissioners immediately proceeded to Lancaster, and on July 20th, met in Council Scarrooyady and another chief of the Six Nations from Logstown, three chiefs of the Shawnees, and three of the Twightwees, together with a number of Susquehanna Delawares and Nanticokes. At this meeting, it appeared that part of Chartier's band, belonging to Neucheconno's clan, had already returned to the Ohio, and at Logstown, Neucheconno, Kakowatcheky, Sonatziowanah, and Sequeheton, "chiefs of the Shawonese now left at Allegheny," had met in Council and addressed themselves to the Delawares and Six Nations living there, in the following manner:

GRANDFATHERS AND BRETHREN:

We, the Shawonese, have been misled, and have carried on a private correspondence without letting you or our brethren, the English, know of it. We travelled secretly through the bushes to Canada, and the French promised us great things: but we find ourselves deceived. We are sorry that we had anything to do with them. We now find that we could not see, although the sun did shine. We earnestly desire you would intercede with our brethren, the English, for us who are left at Ohio, that we may be permitted to be restored to the chain of friendship, and be looked upon as heretofore, the same flesh with them.

After this speech had been repeated to the Pennsylvania Commissioners, and due consideration given it, the latter agreed to take the offending Shawnees back again into the English alliance; but they also sent a belt by the Six Nation chiefs, requesting them to first chastise Neucheconno and his party in terms of proper severity for their misconduct. At the same time, Chief Kakowatcheky and his friends at Logstown who had not gone with Chartier were commended by the Commissioners for having resisted the enticements of the French.

The Shawnee chiefs who attended the Lancaster Council were Taminy Buck (also written Domini Buck), Lawachcanricky (misprint for Lawackamicky or Loawaghcomico), and Ossoghqua. Neucheconno and

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Taminy Buck[1] both signed a letter to the Governor from "Aleggainey," May 1, 1747. Probably they had not gone farther with Chartier than to the Lower Shawnee Town. They were both, also, signers of the treaty renewal made with the Pennsylvania Government in July, 1739, at which time the latter's name is written Tamene Buck and Tomene Buck. In the *Journal* of his proceedings at Logstown, under date of September 10, 1748, Weiser mentions two other Shawnee chiefs, Big Hominy and The Pride, as being among those who went off with Chartier, and who were then returned. Weiser also stated that one of his reasons for refusing to accede to the request that his conference with the Ohio Indians be held at Kuskuskies instead of at Logstown was that "at the last treaty in Lancaster the Shawonese and Twightwees have been told so, and they stayed accordingly for that purpose, and both would be offended if the Council was held at Coscosky." The Shawnees of Logstown also told him at the same time, "we have kept the Twightwees here, and our brethren, the Shawonese *from below*, on that account." This would indicate that one or more of the Shawnee chiefs who are named above as having been at Lancaster in July, came from the Lower Shawnee Town. Big Hominy and The Pride also came from there, being the head men of that part of Chartier's band which had returned to the Scioto and established themselves in the new town on the Red River of Kentucky. The former was the chief speaker for the Shawnees at a Council held with Croghan and Gist at the Lower Shawnee Town in January, 1751. Gist calls him Big Hannaona (a misprint). His Indian name was Misemeathaquatha or Missemediqueety, as Weiser wrote it when he reported having met this chief February 3, 1743, twenty-five miles below Shamokin. "A captain of war, and a very noted man among the Shawonese; the English call him the Great Huminy," was the way Weiser described him at that time. He is first mentioned in the Pennsylvania records as Meshemethequater, and reported as attending a conference at Philadelphia with other chiefs from Allegheny and Wyoming July 27, 1739. Big Hominy, Loapeckaway (Loyparcowah,—Opessa's son), Nickiphock, and Lawackamicky were named as among the chiefs at the Lower Shawnee Town in 1752.

When Celoron's expedition went down the Ohio from Logstown in August, 1749, its leader buried a leaden plate at the mouth of the Great Kanawha. As has already been stated, the name given to that river by Celoron in his *Journal* is Chinondaista; on the plate it was spelled "Chinodahicketha"; and in Bonnecamps' *Journal*, "Chinodaichta." Like the name given to the Scioto (*Chianouske*) on Bellin's map of 1744, this word has some resemblance in sound to *Sa-un-dos-tee*, and also to

[1] He is described as a Mingo in a parenthetical note following his signature to this letter.

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Chinnoiindoh, the Seneca term for "elk." Leaving the mouth of the Kanawha on August 20th, Celoron's expedition proceeded down the Ohio, and after a few leagues, they met a Loup Indian returning up the river from Scioto. He informed Celoron that there were from eighty to one hundred cabins in the Lower Shawnee Town. On nearing the town next day, Celoron sent Joncaire forward to give notice of his approach. On his return on the 22d, Joncaire told the commander that during the last forty-eight hours the inhabitants of the town had constructed a stone fort, well built, and in a good condition for defence. Celoron assured the Indians of the peaceful character of his mission, however, and was received by the chiefs, and met by them in Council. He observes, in his *Journal*, "this village, which is composed for the most part of Chaouanons and Iroquois of the Five Nations, has added to it more than thirty men of the Sault Saint Louis, whom libertinage had drawn there. The abundance of game and the cheap market which the English made there were very seductive to them. . . . Besides the men from the Sault Saint Louis, there are some from the Lake of the Two Mountains, the Loups, the Miamis, and from nearly all the nations of the Upper Country. All these additions are no better than the Chaouanons, who are entirely devoted to the English."

Father Bonnecamps, the geographer of Celoron's expedition, wrote of the Lower Shawnee Town at this time: "The situation of the village of the Chaouanons is quite pleasant,— at least, it is not masked by the mountains, like the other villages through which we had passed. The Sinhioto River, which bounds it on the west [misprint for east?], has given it its name. It is composed of about sixty cabins. The Englishmen there numbered five. They were ordered to withdraw, and promised to do so."

The first reference to the Lower Shawnee Town, by that name, to be found in the Pennsylvania records, appears to be in a letter written by William Trent to Secretary Peters, October 20, 1748, giving an account of a murder which had been committed by an Indian at Kuskuskies. An employe of Hugh Parker, a Virginia trader there, was killed, as the result of an altercation which had taken place between Parker and some of his Indian customers, over some liquor, "which he was tieing up, in order to send to the Lower Shawna Town."

There is in the *Virginia Calendar of State Papers* a message to the Governor of Virginia from "Nuckegunnah, King of the Shawanas living at Allaganey," which may possibly refer to the Lower Shawnee Town, or to the settlements of the Shawnees and Delawares at "Le Tort's," above the mouth of the Great Kanawha. Lewis Evans's map of 1755 locates "Wanduchale's Old Town" on the west bank of the Ohio River, opposite the mouth of the Little Kanawha; and shows "Wyandachale's [present]

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The Mouth of the Scioto at Lower Shawnee Town on the Ohio.

Looking down Scioto. The Kentucky shore of the Ohio is seen in the Centre.

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Town," on the east bank of the Scioto, not far above its mouth. Christopher Gist wrote in his *Journal* under date of January 27, 1751, that the town last named was a small village of the Delawares, and that he lodged there "at the house of an Indian whose name was Windaughalah, a great man and chief of this town, and much in the English interest." It is apparent, therefore, that Wanduchale's Old Town on the Ohio had been abandoned before 1751.

The message from Nuckegunnah (Neucheconno) was dated August 4, 1738, and stated that after news had been received from James Logan that the Governor of Virginia would make peace between the Catawbas and the Northern Indians, the Shawnees had kept from sending any war parties against the Catawbas; but that the "Cattawpas came upon them and killed one woman and a man, and took two prisoners, about the middle of April; and another party was persued about forty days ago by the Shawnas, so that they left their packs. . . . It is three years ago since the Cattawpas killed five of our northerly Indians, and at their returning back, killed two white men named Douthett and Baldin, which is very well known by Garrat Pendergrass and Charles Polke; and the year before that, Wendohay's [Wanduchale's] brother was killed by the Cattawpas and two boys took prisoners, and Lazarus Lowrey was robbed at the time by the same Company, being a white man."

The Catawbas followed two main trails from their country in South Carolina to the Ohio—one by way of the Cumberland Gap to the mouth of the Scioto, and the other by way of Catawba Creek, in the present Boutetort County, Virginia, to the New River, and thence down that river and the Great Kanawha to the mouth of the latter.

In the *Journal* of his voyage down the Ohio in October and November, 1770, George Washington notes that his party arrived on October 22d at the Mingo Town, situated on the west side of the river a little above the Cross Creeks (now Mingo, Jefferson County), which place, he adds, "contains about twenty cabins and 70 inhabitants of the Six Nations." "At the Mingo Town," he continues, "we found and left 60 odd warriors of the Six Nations, going to the Cherokee Country, to proceed to war against the Cuttawbas." On Monday, October 29th, Washington wrote in his *Journal:* "At this place [Old Town Creek, in what is now Meigs County, Ohio] begins what they call the Great Bend [of the Ohio River]. Five miles below this again, on the East side, comes in . . . another Creek, . . . at the mouth of this Creek, which is three or four miles above two islands (at the lower end of the last is a rapid [Le Tort's Falls, Islands 44 and 45], and the point of the Bend), is the Warriors' Path to the Cherokee [and Catawba] country."

In describing the land on the north bank of the Kanawha at its mouth, Washington writes (November 1st): "This bottom continues

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up the east side for about two miles, and by going up the Ohio a good tract might be got of bottom land, including the Old Shawna Town, which is about three miles up the Ohio, just above ye mouth of a Creek."

Dr. Thwaites, in a note to Withers's *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, states that the Upper Shawnee Town (which a troop of Virginia militia —the Sandy Creek Expedition—vainly tried to find in 1756), "was an Indian village at the mouth of Old Town Creek, emptying into the Ohio from the north, 39 miles above the mouth of the Great Kanawha." Now, while it is true this town did stand at the mouth of a stream which has later been known as Old Town Creek, probably it was not the Ohio creek of that name. A creek of the same name enters the Ohio River from the east, in what is now Mason County, West Virginia; and the mouth of this creek is just about three miles above the mouth of the Kanawha. This Old Town Creek, therefore, as Washington's *Journal* shows, was the site of the Upper Shawnee Town. The mouth of the Old Town Creek on the west side of the Ohio is in Meigs County, Ohio, and about thirty-eight miles above the mouth of the Kanawha, and four and one half miles below and on the opposite side of the river from the mouth of Big Sandy *Creek* (Big Sandy *River* is ninety-two miles farther down the Ohio). The Old Town Creek in Meigs County seems to be the same stream which is called Le Tort's Creek in the Appendix to Hutchins's and Smith's *Bouquet*. This name, and those of Le Tort's Islands and Le Tort's Falls (both now corrupted to Letarts), eight and one-half miles below Le Tort's Old Town Creek, mark the residence at these points on the Ohio River of the Indian Trader, James Le Tort, who lived and traded here before 1740.

Kiskiminetas Old Town (No. 2), also, was on the west bank of the Ohio, some thirty miles below the mouth of Le Tort's Creek, and, according to the Appendix in Smith's *Bouquet*, eight miles above the mouth of the Kanawha. Evans correctly locates on his map of 1755 both the Kiskiminetas Old Town and the Shawnee Old Town. What Indian town stood at the mouth of Le Tort's or Old Town Creek, I have not been able to determine. Evans places Wanduchale's (Delaware) Old Town near there, but locates it *above* the mouth of the Hocking, and opposite the mouth of Little Kanawha; while Le Tort's Creek is more than twenty-four miles below the Hocking. Wanduchale's Old Town really stood at the mouth of the Little Hocking Creek[1]. It is most reasonable to

[1] John Jennings's *Journal* of his "Journey from Fort Pitt to Fort Chartres," under date of March 11, 1766, states that, "at three o'clock in the afternoon passed by Little Kanawha, or Lifting Creek; at five passed the Wanduxales Creek; at half-past five encamped for the night. . . . 12th. At six o'clock this morning, left our camp: at seven passed the Hockhocking Creek." (*Penna. Mag.*, xxxi., 146). The distance between the Little Kanawha and Big Hocking is twelve and one half miles; half way between is the mouth of Little Hocking Creek.

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The Site of the Kanawha Shawnee Town. Looking south and west across Old Town Creek towards its mouth and the Ohio River.

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presume, therefore, that the Indian towns in this vicinity at which Le Tort traded were the Shawnee Town, Kiskiminetas Town, Wanduchale's Town, and perhaps another town at the mouth of Le Tort's Creek. This may possibly have been a second Shawnee Town, and the one referred to by Dr. Thwaites.

The point on the Ohio where began the Warriors' Path to the Cherokee and Catawba country, as mentioned by Washington, has been identified by Dr. Archer Hulbert as the mouth of Mill Creek, which flows into the Ohio at Millwood, in Union Township, Jackson County, West Virginia. This point is nearly midway between the mouth of Le Tort's Creek and Le Tort's Rapids; and the fact that the Warriors' Route left the river at this place may explain why the towns of the Delawares and Shawnees came to be located near there. The Warriors' Path probably proceeded to the Kanawha by way of Mill Creek Valley, and thence up the Kanawha to its source.

The message from Neucheconno in 1738, which has been cited above, probably referred to events which occurred at or near the Le Tort trading place. If that be true, then the paragraphs printed above give for the first time in connected form a meagre portion of the history of these settlements, and also furnish us a reason for their abandonment.

From a consideration of these circumstances, the writer is strongly inclined to believe that the settlements of the Indians at Le Tort's were broken up or abandoned about the year 1738; and that the Delawares and Shawnees who composed them, together with some of their fellow tribesmen from "Allegheny," proceeded on down the Ohio River and established the "Lower Shawnee Town," at the mouth of the Scioto, at that time. This belief is further confirmed by the fact that the Delaware chief, Wanduchale, or Wyandachale, who had a town near Le Tort's Creek, which was known in 1755 as an "Old Town" (*i. e.*, abandoned), and whose brother, as Neucheconno stated, was killed by the Catawbas in 1734, built his new town on the left bank of the Scioto, a few miles north of the Lower Shawnee Town. Here he was visited by Christopher Gist in January, 1751. Both his towns are shown on Evans's map of 1755.

Celoron makes no reference, in the *Journal* of his voyage down the Ohio, to any Indian settlements between Logstown and the Scioto; so that it is probable the Delawares and Shawnees had removed from above the mouth of the Kanawha sometime before the summer of 1749.

The earliest description of the land trail from Logstown to the Lower Shawnee Town is found in the *Journals* of Christopher Gist, the surveryor sent out by the Ohio Company of Virginia in 1750, to view the lands in the Ohio Indian country. Gist reached Logstown Sunday, November 25, 1750. From there his *Journal* proceeds:

"Monday, 26. Tho' I was unwell, I prefered the Woods to such

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Company and set out from the Loggs Town down the River NW 6 M. to great Beaver Creek,[1] where I met one Barny Curran, a Trader for the Ohio Company, and we continued together as far as Muskingum. The Bottoms upon the River below the Logg's Town very rich but narrow, the high Land pretty good but not very rich, the Land upon Beaver Creek the same kind; From this Place We left the River Ohio to the SE. & travelled across the country.

"Tuesday, 27. Set out from E side of Beaver Creek NW. 6 M., W. 4 M.; up these two last Courses very good high Land, not very broken, fit for farming.[2]

"Wednesday, 28. Rained, We could not travel.

"Thursday, 29. W. 6 M. thro good Land, the same Course continued 6 M. farther thro very broken Land; here I found myself pretty well recovered, & being in Want of Provision I went out and killed a Deer.

"Friday, 30. Set out S. 45 W. 12 M. crossed the last Branch of Beaver Creek, where one of Curran's Men & myself killed 12 Turkeys.

"Saturday, Dec. 1. N. 45 W. 10 M. [W. 8 M.] the Land high and tolerable good.[3]

"Sunday, 2. N. 45 W. 8 M. [6 M.] the same Sort of Land, but near the Creeks bushy and very full of Thorns.

[Note by Pownall: "by Mr. Gist's Plat he makes these 2 Courses, N. 45 W. 10 M. & N. 45 W. 8 M., to be W. 8 M. and N. 45 W 6 M."]

"Monday, 3. Killed a Deer, and stayed in our Camp all Day.

"Tuesday, 4. Set out late S. 45 W. about 4 M.; here I killed three fine fat Deer, so that tho we were eleven in Company, We had great Plenty of Provision.

"Wednesday, 5. Set out down the Side of a Creek called Elk's Eye Creek S. 70 W. 6 M., good Land, but void of Timber, Meadows upon the Creek, fine Runs for Mills.

[1] The path crossed the Beaver at its mouth, where the town of Rochester now stands.

[2] "The trail went northwest from the mouth of Beaver Creek, passing over the site of the present village of West Salem, Penna., to a point a little southeast from what is now New Lisbon, Ohio, on nearly the same line as the present road from Beaver to New Lisbon."—Darlington.

The path entered Ohio about two miles South from what is now Achor village, in the present township of Middleton, Columbiana County; traversed that township and Elk Run Township; entered Centre Township at Section 25; passed through Wayne Township, and thence southwesterly through what is now Franklin Township.

[3] Darlington says the course was near the northwest corner of the present Wayne Township, Columbiana County, Ohio; thence to a point near Hanover, in same county; running a little south of Bayard to the Big Sandy Creek near Oneida, Carroll County.

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"Thursday, 6. Rained all Day so that we were obliged to continue in our Camp.

"Friday, 7. Set out SW. 8 M. crossing the said Elk's Eye Creek to a Town of the Ottaways,[1] a Nation of French Indians; an old French Man (named Mark Coonce)[2] who had married an Indian Woman of the Six Nations lived here; the Indians were all out a hunting; the old Man was very civil to me, but after I was gone to my Camp, upon his understanding I came from Virginia, he called Me the Big Knife. There are not above six or eight Families belonging to this Town.

"Saturday, 8. Stayed in the Town.

"Sunday, 9. Set out down the said Elk's Eye Creek S. 45 W. 6 M. to Margaret's Creek, a Branch of the said Elk's Eye Creek.[3]

"Monday, Dec. 10. The same Course (S. 45 W.) 2 M. to a large Creek.

"Tuesday, 11. The same Course 12 M.; killed 2 Deer.

"Wednesday, 12. The same course 8 M.; encamped by the Side of Elk's Eye Creek.[4]

"Thursday, 13. Rained all Day.

"Friday, 14. Set out W. 5 M. to Muskingum a *Town of the Wyendotts*.[5] The Land upon Elk's Eye Creek is in general very broken, the Bottoms narrow. The Wyendotts or Little Mingoes[6] are divided between the French and English, one half of them adhere to the first, and the other half are firmly attached to the latter. The Town of Muskingum consists of about one hundred Families. When We came within Sight of the Town, We perceived English Colours hoisted on the King's House, and at George Croghan's; upon enquiring the Reason I was informed that the French had lately taken several English Traders, and that Mr. Croghan had ordered all the White Men to come into this Town, and had sent Expresses to the Traders of the lower Towns, and among the Pickweylinees; and the Indians had sent to their People to come to Council about it.

"Saturday, 15 & Sunday, 16. Nothing remarkable happened.

"Monday, 17. Came into Town two Traders belonging to Mr. Croghan, and informed Us that two of his People were taken by 40

[1] Near the junction of the Big Sandy and Tuscarawas, on the west side of the latter, just above the present town of Bolivar.

[2] See pp. 316, 334, Vol. I.

[3] Now Sugar Creek, in Franklin Township, Tuscarawas County.

[4] Near the mouth of White Eyes Creek, Coshocton County.

[5] A mile or two above the Forks of Muskingum (where Coshocton now stands).

[6] They were admitted into the Iroquois-English League of Friendship by the Ohio Mingoes at Logstown, September 9, 1748. "Little Mingoes" was probaby a term used by the Traders to distinguish these Huron-Iroquois from the Iroquois of the Six Nations.

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French Men & twenty French Indians, who had carried them, with seven Horse Loads of Skins, to a new Fort that the French were building on one of the Branches of Lake Erie.[1]

"Tuesday, 18. I acquainted Mr. Croghan and Andrew Montour with my Business with the Indians & talked much of a Regulation of Trade, with which they were much pleased, and treated Me very kindly.

"From Wednesday 19, to Monday, 24. Nothing remarkable.

"Tuesday, 25. This being Christmas Day, I intended to read Prayers, but after inviting some of the White Men, they informed each other of my Intentions, and being of several different Persuasions, and few of them inclined to hear any Good, they refused to come. But one Thomas Burney, a Black Smith who is settled there, went about and talked to them, & then several of them came; and Andrew Montour invited several of the well disposed Indians, who came freely; by this Time the Morning was spent, and I had given over all Thoughts of them, but seeing Them come, to oblige All, and offend None, I stood up and said, 'Gentlemen, I have no Design or Intention to give Offence to any particular Sectary or Religion, but as our King indulges Us all in a Liberty of Conscience and hinders none of You in the Exercise of your religious Worship, so it would be unjust in You, to endeavour to stop the Propagation of His; The Doctrine of Salvation, Faith, and good Works, is what I only propose to treat of, as I find it extracted from the Homilies of the Church of England'; which I then read them in the best Manner I could, and after I had done the Interpreter told the Indians what I had read, and that it was the true Faith which the great King and His Church recommended to his Children: the Indians seemed well pleased, and came up to Me and returned Me their Thanks; and then invited Me to live among Them, and gave Me a Name, in their Language *Annosanah;* the Interpreter told me this was a Name of a good Man that had formerly lived among them, and their King said that must be always my Name, for which I returned them Thanks; but as to living among them I excused myself by saying I did not know whether the Governor would give Me Leave, and if he did the French would come and carry me away as they had done the English Traders; to which they answered I might bring great Guns and make a Fort; that they had now left the French, and were very desirous of being instructed in the Principles of Christianity; that they liked Me very well and wanted Me to marry them after the Christian Manner, and baptize their Children; and then they said they would never desire to return to the French, or suffer Them or their Priest

[1] Fort Sandusky, on the north side of Sandusky Bay. Three Traders were captured: Joseph Faulkner of New York, Luke Erwin of Pennsylvania, Thomas Burk of Lancaster County. See *Penna. Col. Rec.*, v., 556; *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vi., 731; *Olden Time*, ii., 184; and chapters vi. and viii., this volume.

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to come near them more, for they loved the English, but had seen little Religion among Them: and some of their great Men came and wanted Me to baptize their Children; for as I had read to Them and appeared to talk about Religion they took Me to be a Minister of the Gospel; Upon which I desired Mr. Montour (the Interpreter) to tell Them that no Minister could venture to baptize any Children until those that were to be Sureties for Them were well instructed in the Faith themselves, and that this was according to the great King's Religion, in which He desired his Children should be instructed, & We dare not do it in any other Way than was by Law established; but I hoped if I could not be admitted to live among them, that the great King would send Them proper Ministers to exercise that Office among them; at which they seemed well pleased; and one of Them went and brought Me his Book (which was a Kind contrived for Them by the French, in which the Days of the Week were so marked that by moving a Pin every Morning they kept a pretty exact Account of Time), to show Me that He understood Me, and that He and his Family always observed the Sabbath Day.

"Wednesday, Dec. 26. This Day a Woman, who had been a long Time a Prisoner, and had deserted & been retaken and brought into the Town on Christmas Eve, was put to Death in the following manner: They carried her without the Town & let her loose, and when she attempted to run away, the Persons appointed for that Purpose pursued her & struck Her on the Ear, on the right Side of her Head, which beat Her flat on her Face on the Ground; they then stuck her several Times thro the Back with a Dart, to the Heart, scalped Her, & threw the Scalp in the Air, and another cut off her Head: There the dismal Spectacle lay till the Evening, & then Barny Curran desired Leave to bury Her, which He and his Men and some of the Indians did, just at Dark.

"From Thursday, Dec. 27, to Thursday, Jan. 3, 1751. Nothing remarkable happened in the Town.

"Friday, Jan. 4. One Teafe (an Indian Trader) came to Town from near Lake Erie, & informed Us that the Wyendott Indians had advised him to keep clear of the Ottaways (these are a Nation of Indians firmly attached to the French, & inhabit near the Lakes; & told Him that the Branches of the Lakes are claimed by the French; *but that all the Branches of Ohio belonged to Them*, and their Brothers the English, and that the French had no Business there, & that it was expected that the other Part of the Wyendott Nation would desert the French and come over to the English Interest, & join their Brethren on the Elk's Eye Creek, & build a strong Fort and Town there.

"From Saturday, 5, to Tuesday, 8. The Weather still continuing bad,

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I stayed in the Town to recruit my Horses, and tho Corn was very dear among the Indians, I was obliged to feed them well, or run the Risque of losing them, as I had a great Way to travel.

"Wednesday, 9. The Wind Southerly, and the Weather something warmer: this Day came into Town two Traders from among the Pickwaylinees (these are a Tribe of the Twigtwees) and brought News that another English Trader was taken prisoner by the French,[1] and that three French Soldiers had deserted and come over to the English, and surrendered themselves to some of the Traders of the Pick Town, & that the Indians would have put them to Death, to revenge their taking our Traders, but as the French Prisoners had surrendered themselves, the English would not let the Indians hurt them, but had ordered them to be sent under the Care of three of our Traders and delivered at this Town, to George Croghan.

"Thursday, 10. Wind still at South and warm.

"Friday, 11. This Day came into Town an Indian from over the Lakes & confirmed the News we had heard.

"Saturday, 12. We sent away our People towards the Lower Town, intending to follow them the next Morning, and this Evening We went into Council in the Wyendott's King's House—The Council had been put off a long time, expecting some of their great men in, but few of them came, & this Evening some of the King's Council being a little disordered with Liquor, no Business could be done, but we were desired to come next Day.

"Sunday, Jan. 13. No business done.

"Monday, 14. This Day George Croghan, by the Assistance of Andrew Montour, acquainted the King and Council of this Nation (by presenting them four Strings of Wampum) that the great King over the Water, their *Roggony* [Father] had sent under the Care of the Governor of Virginia, their Brother, a large Present of Goods which was now landed safe in Virginia, & the Governor had sent Me to invite Them to come and see Him & partake of their Father's Charity to all his Children on the Branches of Ohio. In Answer to which one of the Chiefs stood up and said, 'That their King and all of Them thanked their Brother the Governor of Virginia for his Care, and Me for bringing them the News, but they could not give Me an Answer until they had a full or general Council of the several Nations of Indians, which could not be till next Spring': & so the King and Council shaking Hands with Us, We took our Leave.

"Tuesday, 15. We left Muskingum, and went W. 5 M., to the White Woman's Creek, on which is a small Town; this White Woman was taken away from New England, when she was not above ten Years old,

[1] John Patten, or Pattin, of Chester County, Penna. See his *Journal* in Chapter viii.

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by the French Indians[1]; She is now upwards of fifty, and has an Indian Husband and several Children—Her name is Mary Harris: she still remembers they used to be very religious in New England, and wonders how the White Men can be so wicked as she has seen them in the Woods.

"Wednesday, 16. Set out SW. 25 M. to Licking Creek—The Land from Muskingum to this Place rich but broken—Upon the N. side of Licking Creek about 6 M. from the Mouth, are several Salt Licks, or Ponds, formed by little Streams or Dreins of Water, clear, but of a blueish Colour & salt Taste. The Traders and Indians boil their Meat in this Water, which (if proper Care be not taken) will sometimes make it too salt to eat.[2]

"Thursday, 17. Set out W. 5 M., SW. 15 M., to a great Swamp.[3]

"Friday, 18. Set out from the great Swamp SW. 15 M.

"Saturday, 19. W. 15 M. to Hockhockin, a small Town with only four or five Delaware Families.[4]

"Sunday, 20. The Snow began to grow thin, and the Weather warmer; set out from Hockhockin S. 5 M., then W. 5 M., then SW. 5 M., to the Maguck, a little Delaware Town of about ten Families by the N Side of a plain[5] or clear Field about 5 M. in Length NE. & SW. & 2 M. broad, with a small Rising in the Middle, which gives a fine Prospect over the whole Plain, and a large Creek on the N. Side of it called Sciodoe Creek. All the Way from Licking Creek to this Place is fine rich, level, Land, with large Meadows, fine Clover Bottoms, & spacious Plains covered with wild Rye: the Wood chiefly large Walnuts and Hickories, here and there mixed with Poplars, Cherry Trees, and Sugar Trees.

"From Monday, 21 to Wednesday, 23. Stayed in the Maguck Town.

"Thursday, 24. Set out from the Maguck Town S. about 15 M., thro fine, rich, level Land to a small Town called Harrickintom's, consisting of about five or six Delaware Families, on the SW. Sciodoe Creek.

"Friday, 25. The Creek being very high and full of ice, We could not ford it, and were obliged to go down it on the SE. Side SE. 4 M. to the Salt Lick Creek—about 1 M. up this Creek on the S. Side is a very large

[1] She was taken at the burning of Deerfield, Mass., Feb. 29, 1704. Her town stood on the south side of White Woman's or Walhonding River, about opposite the mouth of Killbuck Creek.

[2] "The trail led in a southwesterly direction, through the present Coshocton County, passing near Dresden, in the county of Muskingum; thence to the Licking Creek, crossing it at the Clay Lick Station, Hanover Township, Licking County, on the Central Ohio Railroad, six miles east of Newark."—Darlington.

[3] Part of the present Licking Reservoir of the Ohio Canal, in the southern part of Licking County.

[4] On the site of Fairfield, Lancaster County.

[5] On the Pickaway Plains, south of Circleville.

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Salt Lick[1]; the Streams which run into this Lick are very salt & tho clear, leave a blueish Sediment. The Indians and Traders make salt for their Horses of this Water, by boiling it; it has at first a blueish Colour, and somewhat bitter taste, but upon being dissolved in fair Water and boiled a second Time, it becomes tolerable pure Salt.

"Saturday, 26. Set out S. 2 M., SW. 14 M.

"Sunday, 27. S. 12 M. to a small Delaware Town[2] of about twenty Families on the SE. Side of Sciodoe Creek—We lodged at the House of an Indian whose Name was Windaughalah, a great Man and Chief of this Town & much in the English Interest. He entertained Us very kindly, and ordered a Negro Man that belonged to him to feed our Horses well; this Night it snowed, and in the Morning the Snow was six or seven Inches deep, the wild Rye appeared very green and flourishing thro it, and our Horses had fine Feeding.

"Monday, Jan. 28. We went into Council with the Indians of this Town, and after the Interpreter had informed them of his Instructions from the Governor of Pennsylvania, and given them some Cautions in Regard to the French, they returned for Answer as follows. The Speaker, with four Strings of Wampum in his Hand, stood up, and addressing Himself as to the Governor of Pennsylvania, said, 'Brothers,We, the Delawares, return You our hearty Thanks for the News You have sent Us, and We assure You We will not hear the Voice of any other Nation, for We are to be directed by You, our Brothers the English, & by none else. We shall be glad to hear what our Brothers have to say to Us at the Loggs Town in the Spring, and to assure You of our hearty Good will & Love to our Brothers We present You with these four Strings of Wampum.' This is the last Town of the Delawares to the Westward—The Delaware Indians by the best Accounts I could gather consist of about 500 fighting Men, all firmly attached to the English Interest; they are not properly a Part of the six Nations, but are scattered about among most of the Indians upon the Ohio, and some of them among the six Nations, from whom they have Leave to hunt upon their Lands.

"Tuesday, 29. Set out SW. 5 M., S. 5 M., to the Mouth of Sciodoe Creek, opposite to the Shannoah Town, here We fired our Guns to alarm the Traders, who soon answered, and came and ferryed Us over to the Town—The Land about the Mouth of Sciodoe Creek is rich but broken, fine Bottoms upon the River & Creek—The Shannoah Town is situate upon *both Sides the River Ohio*, just below the Mouth of Sciodoe Creek, and contains about 300 Men; there are about 40 Houses on the S. Side of the River and about 100 on the N. Side, with a Kind of State-House of about 90 Feet long, with a light Cover of Bark, in which they hold

[1] In Jefferson Township, Ross County.

[2] It stood in the present Clay Township, Scioto County.

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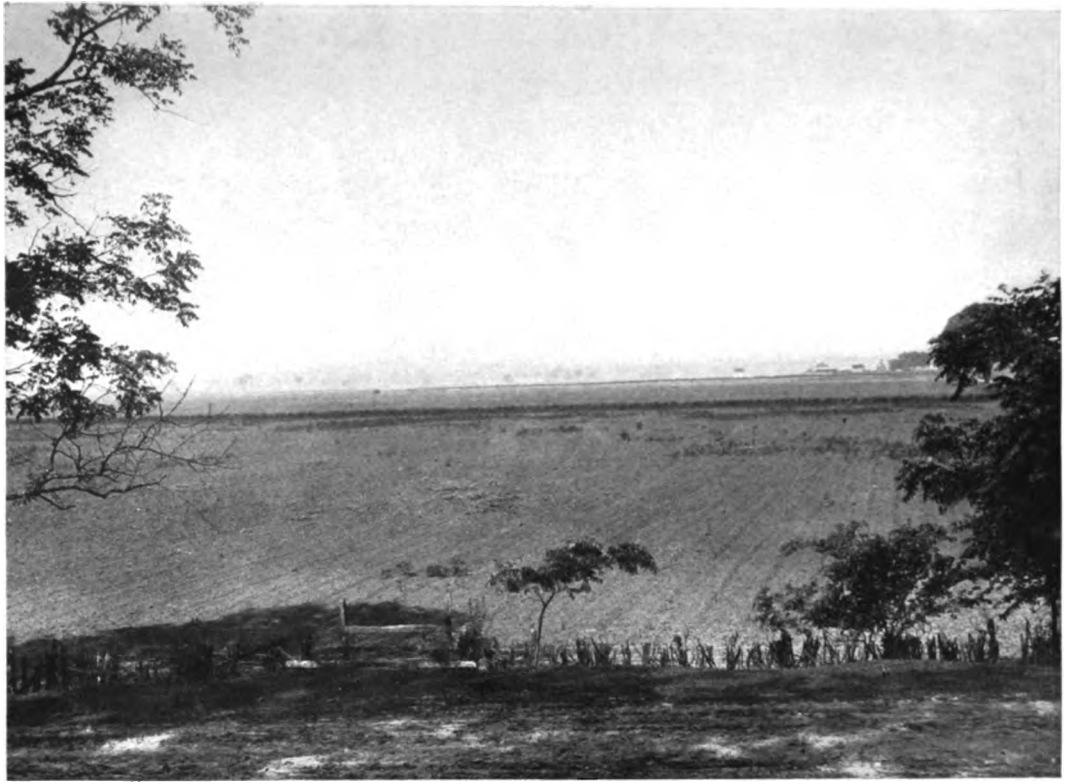

The Pickaway, Piqua, or Pequea, Plains. Looking west from Black Mountain towards the Scioto.

From a photograph furnished by Mr. George F. Hunter.

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their Councils—The Shanaws are not a Part of the Six Nations, but were formerly at Variance with them, tho now reconciled; they are great Friends to the English, who once protected them from the Fury of the Six Nations, which they gratefully remember.

"Wednesday, 30. We were conducted into Council, where George Croghan delivered sundry Speeches from the Government of Pennsylvania to the Chiefs of this Nation, in which He informed them, 'That two Prisoners who had been taken by the French[1] and had made their Escape from the French Officer at Lake Erie as he was carrying them towards Canada, brought News that the French offered a large Sum of Money to any Person who would bring to them the said Croghan and Andrew Montour, the Interpreter, alive, or, if dead, their Scalps; and that the French also threatened these Indians and the Wyendotts with War in the Spring,' the same Persons farther said 'that they had seen ten French Canoes loaded with Stores for a new Fort they designed on the S. Side of Lake Erie.' Mr. Croghan also informed them of several of our Traders having been taken, and advised them to keep their Warriors at Home, until they could see what the French intended, which he doubted not would appear in the Spring—Then Andrew Montour informed this Nation as He had done the Wyendotts & Delawares, 'That the King of Great Britain had sent Them a large Present of Goods, in Company with the Six Nations, which was under the Care of the Governor of Virginia, who had sent Me out to invite them to come and see Him & partake of their Father's Present next Summer'; to which We received this Answer: Big Hannaona their Speaker, taking in his Hand the several Strings of Wampum which had been given by the English, He said, 'These are the Speeches received by Us from your great Men: From the Beginning of our Friendship, all that our Brothers the English have told Us has been good and true, for which We return our hearty Thanks.' Then taking up four other Strings of Wampum in his Hand, He said: 'Brothers, I now speak the Sentiments of all our People; when first our Forefathers did meet the English our Brothers, they found what our Brothers the English told them to be true, and so have We—We are a small People & it is not to Us only that You speak, but to all Nations—We shall be glad to hear what our Brothers will say to Us at the Loggs Town in the Spring, We hope that the Friendship now subsisting between Us & our Brothers will last as long as the Sun shines, or the Moon gives Light—We hope that our Children will hear and believe what our Brothers say to them, as We have always done, and to assure You of our hearty Good-Will towards You our Brothers, We present You with these four Strings of Wampum.' After the Council was over they had much Talk about sending a Guard with Us to the Pickwaylinees' Towns (these are a

[1] Morris Turner and Ralph Kilgore. See their deposition in Chapter viii.

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Tribe of Twigtwees) which was reckoned near 200 Miles; but after long Consultation (their King being sick) they came to no Determination about it.

"From Thursday, Jan. 31, to Monday, Feb. 11. Stayed in the Shannoah Town; while I was here the Indians had a very extraordinary Kind of a Festival, at which I was present and which I have exactly described at the End of my *Journal*—As I had particular Instructions from the President of Virginia to discover the Strength & Numbers of some Indian Nations to the Westward of Ohio who had lately revolted from the French, and had some Messages to deliver them from Him, I resolved to set out for the Twigtwees Town. . . .

"An Account of the Festival mentioned in my *Journal:*

"In the Evening a proper Officer made a public Proclamation that all the Indians' marriages were dissolved, and a Public Feast was to be held for three succeeding days after, in which the women, as their custom was, were again to choose husbands.

"The next Morning, early, the Indians breakfasted, and after spent the Day in dancing till the Evening, when a plentiful Feast was prepared; after feasting, they spent the Night in dancing. The same way they spent the next two days till Evening, the Men dancing by themselves, and then the women in turns round the Fires, and dancing in their Manner in the Form of the Figure 8, about 60 or 70 at a time. The Women, the whole Time they danced, sung a Song in their language, the Chorus of which was,

"'I am not afraid of my Husband,
I will choose what Man I please.'

singing these lines alternately.

"The third Day in the Evening, the Men being about 100 in Number, [danced,] some times at Length, at other Times in a Figure 8, quite round the Fort and in and out of the long House, where they held their Councils, the Women standing together as the Men danced by them; And as any of the Women liked a Man passing by, she stepped in and joined in the Dance, taking hold of the Man's Stroud whom she chose, and then continued in the Dance till the rest of the women stepped in and made their choice in the same manner: after which the dance ended, and they all retired to consummate.

"N.B. This was given to me by Colonel Mercer, Agent of the Ohio Company, and now Lieutenant Governor of North Carolina."

In an affidavit made by George Croghan at Winchester (?) in 1777, he gave an account of some occurrences which took place at the Lower Shawnee Town during the time he was there with Gist in 1751. This affidavit will be found in the next chapter.

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La Jonquiere wrote to the French Minister from Quebec, September 25, 1751:

MONSEIGNEUR—I have been informed of everything worthy of interest that has occurred in the Illinois country by the letters written to me by Monsieur de Benoist St. Clin, Commandant at Fort Chartres, on the 28th of May, 1750, the 4th of March, 9th and 22d of May of this year. I shall have the honor to report to you on the same. . . .

A party of Chaouanons went to the Pianguichias Fort [Vincennes], to strike a blow there, while the necessary relief was being taken to that post. At the same time forty Pianguichias were there; they set out on the heels of the Chaouanons and said they would follow them to their village to find out positively whence they came. They think they are from Sonioto [Scioto, *i.e.*, the Lower Shawnee Town] or from the Riviere a la Roche [Pickawillany, on the Great Miami]. If they be from the latter village, the Pianguichias will perchance act in accordance with my intentions [that is, to destroy the village].

Monsieur de St. Clin writes me that he is doing all in his power to bring about a reconciliation between the Chaouanons and the Illinois and the nations of the Ouabache, but that some Frenchmen who have deserted from his post to go and hunt at La Belle Riviere have greatly disarranged his plans; that in fact, some Chaouanons from Sonioto, who had come down to hunt, had a man killed and a woman and two children taken by the Ouyatanons, while the Frenchmen were with them. The Chaouanons stopped the Frenchmen and wanted to attack them, saying that the blow had been struck by the Illinois, the children of the French. Fortunately, they changed their mind; they sent two of the Frenchmen, called Lamirande and Ste. Marie to the Illinois to find out who committed the murder. They kept with them the wife of Lamirande and the other Frenchman. To endeavor to withdraw these Frenchmen, Monsieur de St. Clin was compelled to send two envoys with a calumet, two rolls of tobacco, and a letter, in which he said to the Chaouanons that the Illinois had not stirred from their mats and that he knew not what nation struck the blow; that he intended to have the roads kept open so that they might come in all safety to the French, and he would make peace [for them] with the Illinois.

The Chaouanons received this letter at La Belle Riviere. This is the answer given to Monsieur de St. Clin:

"We are all Iroquois here, masters of this River, the Iroquois of Montreal and Sault St. Louis. We look upon the Chaouanons as our children. We beg thee to try and get back the prisoners, to send them to us, and we shall be satisfied. The Chaouanon chiefs have gone to show thy letter to their village, and to consult together whether they will go and see thee at the end of the Winter or in the Spring. There is one Joncaire (a savage) who hopes to go and see thee:"

The Chaouanons did not go to see Monsieur de St. Clin last Spring. He fears that the French they had in their power have been killed, and that the Chaouanons have taken to the Chikachas four women bound. This was told him by an Illinois, who had it from the Misamis.

Monsieur de Celoron had already informed me of this, and

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that the Ouyatanons had sent back one of the said prisoners to the Chaouanons.[1]

We must not be grieved at the Ouyatanons having struck a blow at the Chaouanons, and I am writing to Monsieur de St. Clin that there would not have been much harm in not stopping the quarrel this affair might have occasioned between the Chaouanons and the Illinois, because it would be in our interest to destroy those Chaouanons by getting the nations to wage war against them.

With regard to the French who have remained in the power of the Chaouanons, perhaps the arrival of the Chaouanons whom the Ouyatanons have sent back, will have procured for them their liberty. In any case, they are not to be pitied, because they are deserters who have disobeyed the King's ordinances.

We should spare the Chaouanons but little, because they are always trying to disturb the nations that are our allies. A savage of the post of Pianguichias, who was in winter quarters, was attacked by three Chaouanons; he received a gun-shot wound and a blow from a tomahawk, but escaped nevertheless. Another savage of the same nation was also attacked by the Chaouanons within sight of the post. He took to flight and lost only his gun and his blanket.

The English are taking as much trouble to seduce the nations on the side of the Illinois as everywhere else.

They gave a message to the people of the Vermilion village [a Piankeshaw village]. Their chief, named *Le Maringouin*, would not receive it. He replied to his people that he knew no other Father than the French; that he wished to have no other. They threw the message at him, saying: "Take it and do what thou wishest with it."

Monsieur de St. Clin was informed at the same time that *La Mouche Noire*, a chief of the Ouyatanons, said to his people: "I am going to the English; I will bring some of them here to the village, and, on my return, I will go to the Illinois to ascertain their last dispositions regarding the French and the English, namely, which of the two they desire as Father; and if they speak to me of the English, the matter will soon be concluded."

Monsieur de St. Clin heard indirectly that the English are continuing to get *La Mouche Noire* and *La Peau Blanche* to work at corrupting those nations, under the pretext of the fur-trade. The Peorias reported to him that *La Peau Blanche* went last Winter to them to induce them to go there. Some of his people are also to go to *La Mouche Noire*. Such are their usual subjects of conversation when they come back in the Spring from their Winter quarters.

The English are continuing their intrigues to induce the nations to attack the French, through the machinations of *La Mouche Noire* and *La Demoiselle*, chief of the rebellious Miamis. *La Mouche Noire* has two brothers who are chiefs of the Kascakias domiciled at Fort Chartres. He enticed away the elder, who went to Riviere a la Roche to take there three English captives. He expects, on his return, to bring some English into Monsieur de St. Clin's neighborhood, but the exact place is not known.

The English have won the confidence of the nations of Ouabache.

Finally, Monsieur de St. Clin writes me that they are seeking only to

[1] See Gist's *Journal* in Chapter viii.

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penetrate to the lands of his post; and he adds that this may happen sooner than one thinks.

When George Croghan made his voyage down the Ohio in May, 1765, he arrived at the mouth of the Scioto on the 23d, and notes in his *Journal* under that date: "On the Ohio, just below the mouth of the Scioto, *on a high bank, near forty feet*, formerly stood the Shawnesse Town called the Lower Town, which was all carried away, except three or four houses, by a great flood in the Scioto. I was in the town at the time. Though the banks of the Ohio were so high, the water was nine feet [deep] on the top, which obliged the whole Town to take to their canoes, and move with their effects to the hills. The Shawnesse afterwards built their Town on the opposite side of the River,[1] which, during the French War, they abandoned, for fear of the Virginians, and removed to the Plains of the Scioto."

Whether this flood in the Scioto occurred before 1750, or during the winter of 1750–51, when Croghan was there with Gist, or in the Spring of 1752 or 1753, there is no means of telling. In April, 1752, Governor James Hamilton received by Hugh Crawford, the Trader, a letter dated February 8th, from George Croghan, enclosing another letter, in his handwriting, bearing the same date, signed by Misemeathaquatha, Loapeckaway, Nickiphock, and Loawaghcomico, four Shawnee chiefs of the Lower Shawnee Town, and witnessed by Hugh Crawford, John Grey, John Findley, David Hendricks, and Aaron Price, five Traders. The letter from the chiefs was to inform the Governor that "all the nations settled on this River Ohio and on this side the Lakes are in friendship and live as one people; but the French, . . . trouble us much; . . . they threaten to cut us off, and have killed thirty of our brothers the Twightwees; and we now acquaint you that we intend to strike the French." Croghan writes of this message: "As far as I can understand, it is to assure you that they, with the rest of the nations in those parts, are determined to be revenged on the French for the thirty men of the Twightwees that the French have killed this Winter." There is a probability that Croghan was at the Lower Shawnee Town when this message was penned; although it is possible he committed it to writing at Logstown or in Cumberland County, after it was delivered to him verbally by his lieutenant, Hugh Crawford.

John Finley, James Lowrey, Alexander McGinty, David Hendricks, Jacob Evans, Jabez Evans, Thomas Hyde, and William Powell, were Traders who were captured or robbed in Kentucky, south of the Lower

[1] We have seen from Gist's *Journal* that part of the town stood on the south side of the Ohio in 1750 and 1751. Does Croghan mean that the Shawnees rebuilt on the opposite side of the Scioto, or of the Ohio? It would appear from another document of his, quoted later, that he meant the Ohio.

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Shawnee Town, in January, 1753. They probably spent the earlier portion of that winter at the mouth of the Scioto.

After the French built Fort aux Bœufs in 1753, the Commandant at Fort Chartres was ordered to send an expedition up the Ohio, with provisions, to join the Canadians. On September 1, 1753, Captain de Mazilieres, in command of one hundred men and convoying a large quantity of provisions, left the Illinois post and proceeded up the Ohio as far as the site of Louisville. Here the expedition halted, and Lieutenant de Portneuf was sent ahead to learn the disposition of the Indian tribes. After some time, he reached the Lower Shawnee Town, and learned of Marin's expedition and establishment near the head of the Allegheny. The chiefs at the Lower Town, however, warned Portneuf of the friendship of the Indians for the English and their enmity to the French; leading him to believe that his own life was in danger. He escaped from the town during the night, and hastened to return to Fort Chartres, without stopping to inform his captain of the situation. The latter, receiving no news from his scout or from Marin, and many of his men deserting, deposited his provisions in a *cache* and returned to the Illinois, where he arrived November 19th, a few days before Portneuf.[1]

At the time when George Croghan, John Patten, and Andrew Montour carried the present from the Provincial Government to the Indians at Logstown, in January, 1754, Patten and Montour returned without Crogan. The latter wrote Richard Peters, February 3d: "I shall be at my house at Aughick by ye 20th of this month"; and in his letter to Governor Hamilton of the same date, he explained that he would have returned with Patten and Montour, "but that Mr. Trent is just come out with ye Virginia goods, and has brought a quantity of tools and workmen to begin a Fort, and as he can't talk ye Indian language, I am obliged to stay and assist him in delivering them goods." In the same letter Croghan also wrote: "May it please yr. Honour, I have reserved a part of ye goods left in my hands by yr. Honour's Commissioners, for this reason, that ye Shannas at ye Lower Shanna Town has got no part of this present. As they are likely to be struck by the French and Othaways [Ottawas] down there, it is Mr. Montour's and my opinion that there should be one hundred pounds worth more of goods added to what is in my hands, and sent to them. If yr. Honour approves of this, as there is no possibility of sending those things at this time of ye year [midwinter] from Philadelphia, ye Ohio Company has a quantity of goods here which they would sell at first cost, if yr. Honour will send a person to purchase them with cash, which will save ye expense of carriage to ye Government."

Within eleven weeks from the date of this letter, the fort which

[1] *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xviii., 148.

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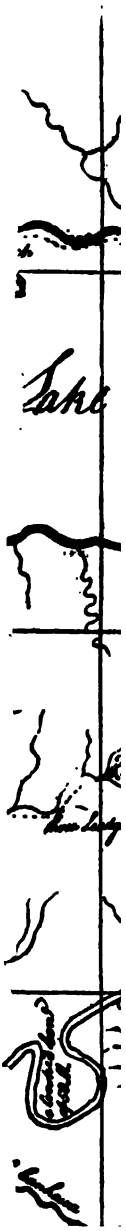

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Trent had started to build was in possession of the French, and the English Traders had left the Ohio country, not to return for five years.

In the original manuscript account of "Losses occasioned by the French and Indians driving the English Traders off the Ohio," in 1754, made by George Croghan at Carlisle, April 24, 1756, the following item of property is mentioned, belonging to William Trent, George Croghan, Robert Calendar, and Michael Teaff, Traders in Company: "One large House on the Ohio, opposite to the mouth of the River Scioto, where the Shawanese *had built their new Town*, called the Lower Shawanese Town, which House we learn by the Indians is now in the possession of a French Trader, £200."

Mrs. Mary Draper Ingles, who was carried off from Vance's (or Vaux's) Fort in Augusta County, Virginia, by the Shawnees in June, 1756,[1] was taken by them to the Lower Shawnee Town, where she was detained for some portion of the summer. She was then carried to the Big Bone Lick in Kentucky, where she managed to escape in company with an old woman of Pennsylvania German stock. The two returned to the settlements in Virginia a few months after Mrs. Ingles's capture. Mr. John P. Hale, a great-grandson of Mrs. Ingles, in his book on *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers*, describes the return trip of these two women through the wilderness. He states that "when Mrs. Ingles and her companion reached the point on the south side of the Ohio *opposite* the Scioto Shawnee Town . . . they found a corn-patch and an isolated, untenanted cabin. As it was about dark when they reached it, they slept in the cabin—seeing no sign of anyone about it—and enjoyed a hearty supper and breakfast of corn. . . . Next morning the women gathered what corn they could manage to carry, and getting away from the neighborhood of the settlement as quietly and quickly as they could, resumed their onward movement. They could plainly see the Town and Indians on the opposite side, but managed to keep themselves unseen." Mr. Hale also states that "the main Shawnee Town in those days [he should have said, in 1750] was not above the mouth [of the Scioto], where Portsmouth now stands, but a short distance below. This was their chief or capital Town. Their Council House, built of logs, was ninety feet long, and covered with bark. A few years later (1763 to 1765 [an error]) a very extreme, if not unprecedented, flood in the rivers swept off the greater part of the Town, and it was never rebuilt at that place; but the tribe moved its headquarters to the Upper Little Miami [after 1776] and up the Scioto [about 1758] and built up successively the Old and New Chillicothe, or Che-le-co-the Towns. There remained a Shawnee village at the mouth of the Scioto, which was then built upon the upper side, the present site of the

[1] See *Va. Hist. Mag.*, xv., 256. Hale seems to have been mistaken in asserting that she was captured at the time of the Draper's Meadow Massacre in July, 1755.

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city of Portsmouth. During the existence of the main Indian town just below the mouth of the Scioto, there was another prominent settlement at the mouth of a creek about four miles above the mouth of Kanawha. This Town was also abandoned about the same time [probably long before] as the Scioto Town; whether from the same cause, or for what reason, I do not know. The Creek, at the mouth of which the Town stood, is still known as 'Old Town Creek.'"

It will be seen by a comparison that there are many discrepancies between the traditionary account of the Lower Shawnee Town preserved by the descendants of Mrs. Ingles, and that of George Croghan. According to the latter, the first town was destroyed by a flood when he was there, which must have been in the winter or early spring of 1751, 1752, or 1753; and it was then rebuilt on the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Scioto. Captain William Trent, whose *Journal* is printed in a later chapter, was at the town in the summer of 1752, on his way to and from Pickawillany. He does not mention crossing the Ohio at that time, nor speak of the town as new; though he is not particular in describing the towns or topography in any part of his *Journal*. It is possible, however, that the flood may not have occurred until the following spring, and that Croghan was in the town in the early part of 1753. It seems certain from the latter's account in his affidavit of 1756, that the new town was built on the south side of the Ohio; and this is further confirmed by a reference in Davidson's *Presbyterian Church in Kentucky* (p. 53), cited from McAfee's *Sketches* (No. 1) in the Frankfort *Commonwealth* for June 1, 1841, the substance of which, as given by Davidson, is that, "there was a French village built during the French War, perhaps about 1753, opposite the mouth of the Scioto. It consisted of nineteen or twenty good log cabins, with clap-board roofs, doors, windows, chimneys, and some cleared ground. It was passed by Captain Bullitt and the McAfee Company on their way [down the Ohio], June 11, 1773."[1] Gist, as we have seen, stated that the town in 1751 was built on both sides of the Ohio, with forty houses on the south side.

The only way to reconcile the accounts of Mrs. Ingles and George Croghan is to assume that after the French had occupied the Ohio Valley, the Shawnees returned again to the north bank of the Ohio and either occupied their old town there, or built a new town on the east bank of the Scioto.

On November 12, 1755, George Croghan wrote James Hamilton from Shippensburg, giving him some Indian news which he had received from "one of ye Six Nations, who I believe is yet a steady friend, if there be one of ye Nation." One item of this news was to the effect that "Ye Six Nations, while they stand neuter, are to make all ye interest they can

[1] See Darlington's *Gist*, 121; Collin's *Kentucky* (1882), ii., 301 (Greenup County).

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with the Southward Indians, to draw them to their interest [against the English], and settle them on ye Ohio; as they have already settled some of ye Upper Cherokees on Kentouckey, a Creek near ye Lower Shanna Town."

On the 1st of July, 1756, Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, wrote to Sir Charles Hardy, informing him, among other news of the Indians, that "One [Samuel] Stalniker, who was settled in Augusta County on our frontiers [a Trader with the Cherokees before 1748, at which time, and in 1750, he was met by Dr. Walker on his expeditions toward Kentucky], was taken prisoner by the Shawnesse about a year since, has made his escape and come here the middle of June. He says that a little before he left the Shawnesse Towns there came four French officers with 1,000 Indians from the Oubatch and the back of the Lakes [the Illinois country]; that they were marching for Fort Duquesne, and from thence intended to invade our Back Settlements. I believe there was such officers and some Indians, but not near 1,000, as the Indians can't tell numbers."

On December 22, 1756, Colonel John Armstrong forwarded to Governor Denny an extract from a letter received by him from Colonel Adam Stephen, dated at Fort Cumberland, November 14th, which read as follows:

"By a woman who once belonged to John Fraser (his wife or mistress) and has now, after being prisoner with Shingas, &c., thirteen months, made her escape from Muskingum, we learn that Shingas and some Delawares live near the head of that River, within three days march of Lake Erie, where there is a town of Wiandots; and about five days travel from the Lower Shanoe Town, on *a branch* of Scioto.

I don't learn that there is a Fort in it.

The Shanoes are gathered all together there, and are forced to borrow a Captain of their Cousins, the Delawares, having had all their Captains and sixteen warriors killed on our frontiers last Spring and summer, except one, who was sentencing one of our soldiers to be burnt, whom they had taken prisoner on our frontiers. The soldier took the advantage of them, and sitting close behind three Indians and the Captain, set fire to a bag of powder close by, and blew himself and the four Indians to pieces. . . .

The head Captain of the Shanoes is called The Pipe, a Delaware [of the Minsi or Wolf Clan], a relation of a fellow's named The Pride[1] who was hanged some time ago in one of the Colonies.

Colonel Armstrong sent to Governor Denny from Carlisle in May

[1] "The Pride," a Shawnee chief, was met by Conrad Weiser at Logstown in 1748, and referred to by him as one of the chiefs who had gone off with Chartier and his Shawnes in 1745. It is probable that the chief called "The Pipe" (later, Captain Pipe) was a relation of Chief Manawkyhickon, of Shamokin, whose relation "Wequela" was hanged in New Jersey in 1728 for the murder of Captain John Leonard.

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1757, the report of the examination of a Delaware prisoner who had been taken by the Cherokees. This prisoner's report was that "At Cuscuskas and Shenango, are about two hundred warriors. The largest body of Shawnese are at the mouth of Siotho, 300 men."

The *Narratives* of Moses Moore and Isham Bernat, written in 1759, are published in the third volume of the *Pennsylvania Archives* (p. 632). Moses Moore related that he "was hunting beaver in Augusta County, Virginia, in the month of April, 1758, and was taken prisoner by a party of nine Owendats, who had two prisoners with them, two brothers, John and William McCreary. Next day after they were taken, they marched to Little Kanhaway, then crossed the Ohio a day and a half to a little Delaware Town down ye Ohio, thence marched three days and an half to ye Lower Shawnee Town, where he was confined three days; thence he was marched to Lake Erie, six days, to the first Owendat Town; next day went to another Town on the Lake side; stayed three days; crossed a small part of ye Lake, where they carry their canoes [the portage on the north side of Sandusky Bay]; then to ye Owendat Town on ye other side of the Lake; stayed there till 26th 8ber [October], then came on this side, below ye Lake, and ye head of Siota Creek; stayed till the 14th March, and then made their escape to Pittsburgh; 23 days on their march."

Isham Bernat "was living at his plantation on the Irwin River in Virginia, and was gone to his neighbors on ye 31st March, 1758, and was taken by a party of mixed Indians, Shawonese, Delawares, Owendots, and Mingoes, about twenty-five in number. . . . When they came to ye Ohio they killed one of his children and an old woman. In three days they came to the Lower Shawonese Town; thence to Owendat Town in three days, on this side ye Lake; after fifteen days was taken to the Owendat Town on the other side Lake, where was about 100 men able to bear arms; there he saw and was with Moses Moore."

General Forbes occupied the site of Fort Duquesne with his little army on November 25, 1758. Two days later, George Croghan and Andrew Montour started to visit the Indians at Logstown and in the villages on the Beaver. They slept on the north side of the Allegheny, opposite the camp, on that night. On the 28th, Croghan writes in his *Journal:* "Set off at seven o'clock, in company with six Delawares, and that night arrived at Loggs Town, which we found deserted by its late inhabitants [the Shawnees]. On inquiring the reason of their speedy flight, the Delawares informed me the Lower Shanoes had removed off the [Ohio] River up Sihotta, to a great plain called Moguck [now known as the Pickaway Plains, in Pickaway County], and sent for those that live here to come there and live with them and quit the French; and at the same time the deputies of the Six Nations which I had sent from Easton,

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came and hastened their departure. In this Town is forty houses, all built for them by the French, and lived here about one hundred and twenty warriors."

On Hutchins's map of 1778, the town at the mouth of the Scioto is marked "Old Lower Shawnee Town," and the place to which the Shawnees removed is called "Lower Shawnee Town," situated on both sides of the Scioto, on the "Plains." There it became known as "Upper Chillicothe," or "Old Chillicothe," four miles below Circleville, on and opposite the site of Westfall.

On February 7, 1759, Hugh Mercer wrote Colonel Bouquet from Pittsburgh that two Shawanese were gone to find if any of the French enemy are at the mouth of the Muskingum, or on Yellow Creek. "A Mohican reports, from the Scioto, two officers and twenty or thirty men to be there, and at the Salt Spring above Kaskaskias [Kuskuskies] a large number of troops."

Vaudreuil wrote to the French Ministry from Montreal June 24, 1760: "M. Hertel, whom I had stationed at Sonyoto, has kept his ground. He learned from prisoners who had been brought to him from Carolina, that the English had no other nations than the Catawbas and Taskarorins; that the [Flat] heads were at war with them."

In a letter written by Colonel Bouquet to General Monckton from Fort Pitt, February 24, 1761, he announces that "Artel [Hertel] has returned from the Shawanese Town, with only six men out of eighteen, some being left sick, others having deserted; they were all militia of Canada."

In May, 1765, George Croghan, as already noted, made a voyage down the Ohio as far as the mouth of the Wabash, for the purpose of treating with the Indians. On the 23d of that month he writes in his *Journal:* "Decamped about five in the morning [from the mouth of Little Guyandotte River], and arrived at Big Guyondott, twenty miles from our last encampment; the country as of yesterday; from hence we proceeded down to Sandy River, being twenty miles further; thence to the mouth of Scioto, about forty miles from the last mentioned River. . . . The soil on the banks of Scioto, for a vast distance up the country, is prodigious rich, the bottoms very wide, and in the Spring of the year many of them are flooded, so that the River appears to be two or three miles wide. [Here follows the description of the old Lower Shawnee Town, and the flood, which has already been given.] . . .

"24th, 25th, and 26th, Stayed at the mouth of Scioto, waiting for the Shawnesse and French Traders, who arrived here on the evening of the 26th, in consequence of the message I sent them from Hochocken, or Bottle Creek. Several of the Shawanese came . . . and brought with them seven French Traders, which they delivered to me; those being all

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that resided in their villages; and told me there was just six more living with the Delawares; that on their return to their towns they would go to the Delawares and get them to send those French Traders home; and told me they were determined to do everything in their power to convince me of their sincerity and good disposition to preserve a peace."

Sir William Johnson wrote the Lords of Trade in July, 1765, that he had received a letter from Mr. Croghan, dated at the mouth of Scioto the 26th of May, "wherein he informs me he was there met by a number of Ottawaes, Shawanese, &c., whom he so far prevailed with as to induce them to deliver up to him seven French Traders from the Illinois, who were in their towns and had been very busy in promoting the War and creating a misunderstanding between us and the Indians; they have likewise promised to deliver five more who are in their country."

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CHAPTER VI

THE CONCHAKE ROUTE, AND OTHER OHIO PATHS

LA MOTHE CADILLAC, founder of Detroit, induced a number of Hurons (Wyandots) to leave Michillimackinac and settle at Detroit in 1703. During the next five years, the greater part of the tribe had followed them. D'Aigremont, who inspected these two posts in the summer of 1708, wrote in his report that "these Hurons would never have abandoned this country [at Michillimackinac] if there had been a French commandant. They left solely on account of their hatred of the Outawas, who held them in a kind of slavery."

Sabrevois' *Memoir* on the Savages of Canada as far as the Mississippi River, prepared in 1718, states that there were at Detroit in that year 100 men of the Hurons, 100 of the Ottawas, and 180 of the Pottawattomies. In 1736, the numbers at Detroit are given as 200 men of the Hurons, 180 of the Ottawas, and 200 of the Pottawattomies.

In the Archives of the French Colonial Ministry there is preserved a "Memorandum of what occurred in the Affair of the Hurons of Detroit with the Outaouacs, Poutouatamis, Sauteux, and Mississisagues of that Post from the 12th of August, 1738, to the 12th of June, 1741."[1] This memorandum shows, that, "by a word of the Hurons of the 12th of August, 1738, addressed to their brothers [*i.e.*, the Caughnawaga, or "praying Indians," located near Quebec] of the Sault, of the Lake, and of Lorette, to be repeated to Monsieur the General, they say that Sastaretsy[2] tells them that the Outaouacs have, as it were, raised the hatchet against them, and have asked all the Nations of their language who dwell on the lakes to help them to exterminate them.

"The 29th of January, 1739, Father de la Richardie writes [from Detroit] that he knows their minds; that it does not seem easy to reassure them; that he has a well-founded reason to fear that—although the

[1] *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xvii., 289.

[2] "Sasteratsi, whom our French call 'King of the Hurons,' and who is in reality the hereditary chief of the Tionnontatez [the Wyandot tribe of the Hurons], who are the true Hurons, was present there [at a Council held in 1721]." Charlevoix, *Journ. Hist.*, 258. The name was hereditary also, and went with the office.

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Hurons have apparently acquiesced in the orders of Monsieur the General to remain at Detroit—they may at the first alarm go either to the Sonontouans, as they have been asked to do, or beyond [south or east of] the Belle Riviere.

"The 1st of February, Monsieur de Noyelle [Commandant at Detroit] writes, that the savages have been in fear of one another throughout all the winter; that the Hurons all went to winter in the interior, contrary to their custom; that they abandoned their clearings and a portion of their Indian corn; that there was a rumor that they were going to the Flat-heads; that they told him they could not calm the minds of their wives and children; and that they would always be in a state of dread at that post.

"Orontony [Nicolas], the great chief of that Nation, gave him branches of porcelain [belts of wampum] to be sent to his Father, Onontio, on behalf of the whole village, by which they begged him to grant them permission to go and settle near him [*i. e.*, nearer Quebec], as they could no longer live in peace at that place; because, whenever the Flat-heads might make an attack on the Nations of Detroit they [the Hurons] would always be accused of having a share in it. . . .

"The 10th of May, 1739, Father de la Richardie writes that the threats of one, Entatsogo, a chief of Sault, uttered in connection with the peace made by the Hurons with the Flat-heads, seemed to have made them give up all idea of going down below [*i. e.*, toward Montreal] to settle. . . .

"The 16th of September, 1740, Monsieur de Noyan writes that the third chief of the Hurons, named Angouirot, had just arrived from Sandoske, where he had left nearly all his brothers cutting down trees to extend their fields. . . .

"The 17th of September, Father de la Richardie writes to Monsieur the General that he had vainly flattered himself that he had brought back the Hurons who had established themselves at the Little Lake [Sandusky]; that most of them had gone to Detroit on the approach of the great feasts, and had decamped as soon as they were over, without its being possible for him to keep them there."

As early as 1729 Beauharnois had written to the French Ministry (July 29) of the reconciliation which he had effected between the Hurons of Detroit and the Miamis. "The latter," he says, "were greatly irritated against the former because they had made peace with the Flat-heads without saying anything to anyone."

In the Sabrevois *Memoir* of 1718, already quoted, the author states that nearly one hundred leagues south of Niagara is a river which is called the Sandosquet, which the savages who are settled at Detroit and along Lake Huron follow when they go to fight the Flat-heads and other nations in the direction of Carolina, as the Cherokees (the savages who live on Casquinampo River) and the Chaouanons.

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The quarrel between the Hurons and the Ottawas broke out in the spring of 1738. During a Council at Detroit, the Huron chief gave a belt to the Ottawas, announcing that the Hurons had made peace with the Flat-heads of the West (the Chickasaws). The Ottawas rejected the belt, and proclaimed their bitter hatred of the Flat-heads. They were upheld by the Pottawattomies and the Sauteurs; and sent a small war party against the southern enemy. On its return, the Hurons were accused of having sent information of the expedition to the Flat-heads, which prevented the Ottawas from surprising one of their villages.

As a result of this quarrel, it would seem that a great part of the Hurons left their village at Detroit and settled at Sandusky, in 1739–40, as noted in the correspondence given above.

The Chevalier de Beauharnois, nephew of the Canadian Governor of the same name, visited the Hurons at Detroit and Sandusky in the summer and fall of 1741, and tried to get them to remove to the vicinity of Montreal; but his errand was fruitless.

Navarre's report of his journey to Saguin's post on the White River in the spring of 1743 (printed in Volume I), shows that a portion of the Hurons, or Wyandots, still remained at Sandusky, and were visited by him on his return to Detroit.

Beauharnois wrote to the French Ministry October 9, 1744, that "the Hurons who came back from Sandoske to settle at La Grande Terre, below Detroit, manifest no intention of changing that settlement, and the idea they formerly had of going away seems to have completely vanished."

This referred only to a portion of the Hurons, possibly to that part of the tribe under the chiefs [Sastaredzy and Taychatin; because Longueuil, Commandant at Detroit a few years later, wrote from there June 23, 1747, giving an account of the killing of the five French Traders on their way back from the White River by "some Hurons of Detroit belonging to the tribe of the War Chief Nicolas, who, some years since had settled at Sandoske."

In a report on Indian affairs made by M. Boisherbert in November, 1747, he writes that the Five Nations had been for a long time sending war-belts to all the tribes with whom they were connected, including the Hurons.[1] "At length, they have recently been wishing to raise the hatchet at Detroit, where Sieur de Longueuil commands. The Hurons were ready

[1] A legend on Lewis Evans's map of 1755, below the southwestern coast of Lake Erie, from beyond the Maumee to the Upper Muskingum, recites that, "These parts were by the Confederates [Iroquois] allotted for the Wiandots when they were lately admitted into their League." They were admitted into the "Covenant Chain" of the Iroquois and English by the chiefs of the Six Nations living on the Ohio at Logstown September 13, 1748. See Weiser's *Journal*.

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to massacre all the French, were it not that a squaw, going into a garret in search of some Indian corn, overheard their conspiracy below. She went immediately to advise the Jesuit lay brother thereof, who informed M. de Longueuil, the commander there, of the danger. They were to sleep that night in the Fort, as they often did before, and each was to kill the people of the house where he lodged. M. de Longueuil called together all the principal chiefs; spoke to them so as to stop them; and they excused themselves the best way they could."

Longueuil wrote that this conspiracy was the fruit of the belts the English had had distributed among all the tribes by the Iroquois of the Five Nations; and that the Hurons of Sastaredzy's and Taychatin's tribe came to speak to him, and assured him that they had no share in the misconduct of Nicolas's people. "Nicolas's tribe," he adds, "continues, nevertheless, to reside at Sandoske, where they doubtless expect not only to maintain themselves but even to harass Detroit by small war parties." Longueuil wrote again July 14th that he has been told that Nicolas was abandoned by his fellow conspirators, but does not believe it. "On the contrary, he knows that he is in correspondence with the people of Saginau and the Sauteurs, to come and surprise Detroit. . . . The Outaouas and Pouteouatamis, who had promised to go and burn the village on Bois Blanc Island [at the mouth of Detroit River, where the conspiracy seems to have been hatched], are no longer willing to execute that project."

Nearly six weeks later Longueuil wrote that the Hurons of Sandosket and Nicolas's band still continue insolent, and that this chief was unceasing in his efforts to gain allies. The writer had just learned that two Englishmen (George Croghan was one) had come to Sandosket with ammunition for Nicolas and his men. "The Hurons of the village on Bois Blanc Island, who are near the Fort, have seen these two Englishmen, and have not spoken of them, which proves clearly their understanding with those of Sandosket, and that they requested leave to remain near the Fort only for the purpose of watching our movements more closely, so as to inform Nicolas thereof, and to advise him of the preparations that may be making against him. These same Hurons persist, however, in wishing to return to Bois Blanc Island, because it is their interest to occupy that post, which is the key of Detroit, whilst Nicolas, on his side, will draw the English to him, and afford them facilities for establishments all along Lake Erie as far as the Miamis [Maumee] River."

On November 9th Longueuil wrote that Nicolas and Anioton, chiefs of the Huron traitors, came to Detroit to sue for peace and to surrender the belts which had been the cause of their treason. The Commandant replied to their speeches, but doubted their sincerity. On the 5th of June, 1748, he writes, that Kinousaki, an Ottawa chief,

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"had returned, on the 7th of April from the Miamis River, whither he had gone to bring back the Hurons [Ottawas?] who had deserted from the village of Ostandosket; has reported that Nicolas, with 119 warriors of his nation, men, women, and baggage, had taken the route to the White River, after having burnt the fort and the cabins of the village; that the Outaouas had given him (Kinousaki) a cool reception, and that a portion only would consent to return to Detroit, the remainder wishing to settle at the lower end of the Miamis River, where the Hurons had promised them the English would supply their wants. Kinousaki has added, that when the Outaouas will learn the desertion of the Hurons, which they were ignorant of, they will alter their resolution. At the same time two Hurons, who were sent by Sastaredzy, the Huron chief of a loyal tribe, confirm the departure of Nicolas and his people for the White River, to seek shelter among the Iroquois there, or among the Mohegans who are near Orange [Albany], and that only seventy men of all their nation would come back."

When Conrad Weiser met the deputies of Nicolas's band at Logstown in September, 1748, they told him that seventy of their warriors had remained behind at another town, a good distance off, whom they hoped to induce to follow them.

In the chapter on the White River, it has been shown that the easiest route from Sandusky to the White River was by way of Lake Erie to the mouth of that river, now better known as the Cuyahoga. It is probable, however, that Nicolas's band of Wyandots made the journey from Sandusky to the Big Beaver by land, and we will now undertake to trace the path they followed.

Since the chapter on the White River was written there has been published in the *Quarterly* of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society for October, 1908, a brief extract from the manuscript journals of Lieutenant Joseph Gaspard Chaussegros de Lery,[1] an Engineer of the French army, and a son of the Chaussegros de Lery who constructed

[1] Gaspard Chaussegros de Lery, father of the writer of this *Journal*, was a French military engineer, son of the engineer of Toulon, of the same name. He was sent to Canada by the Council of the Marine in 1716, and married there in 1717. According to Bellin, he descended the Ohio River to or below the Rapids in the year 1729. Among his children was Joseph Gaspard, baptized in Quebec July 21, 1721. He was given the position of assistant engineer in the Canadian service in April, 1739; and two months later accompanied the expedition of Longueuil down the Ohio and Mississippi against the Chickasaws. He makes references to his journey of that date down the Ohio in the present *Journal*, from which it seems that he kept a *Journal* of the expedition. A portion of this *Journal*, and possibly the whole, is still preserved in the Archives of the French Government. A part has been copied (for the month of February, 1740), and is in the Canadian Archives (see *Calendar* for 1905, i., 461). This covers the campaign for that period against the Chickasaws. De Lery was given a Captain's commission in 1757. After the conquest of Canada, he continued there, and died at Quebec in Decem-

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the fortifications at Niagara in 1726. The original manuscripts of the De Lery *Journals* belong to Laval University, in Quebec. Mr. Charles William Burrows, of Cleveland, Ohio, has had them translated by Col. Crawford Lindsay, of Quebec, and will publish them in full at some future date. Mr. Burrows has kindly furnished the writer with a transcript of Colonel Lindsay's translation, describing De Lery's journey to Detroit in August, 1754, and from Detroit to Fort Duquesne in March, 1755, together with the maps accompanying the same.

De Lery started from Presqu' Isle (now Erie, Pennsylvania) July 30, 1754, and reached Sandusky Bay on his way to Detroit in five days. The entry in his *Journal* under date of August 4, 1754, reads as follows:

"4th, Sunday. We started at 5 h. 22 m. N.W. At two-thirds of a league, Monsieur de Rigauville landed with Father Bonnecamp, Jesuit, and another canoe. There he took the altitude, which was 41 degrees, 24 minutes, 54 seconds. The wind was stormy and a cloud covered the whole sky to the North East. From the point where the altitude was taken to the point seen in the East, the bearing is E.N.W.; from the same point to the point in the West, the bearing is S.E. by S. and N.W. by N. From the Riviere aux Hurons [Fig. 25], or Riviere au Pere, or Riviere au Vermillon, the shore runs S.E. and N.W. for a distance of about 134 [?] leagues, in which space is the entrance to Lake Otsandoske. At 10 o'clock I found myself opposite two entrances of a Bay. As my canoe was the nearest to land as well as the most in advance, and as I had no guide, I thought this was the entrance of Lake Otsandoske. The wind was astern, and as I steered for the entrance the rollers were very heavy. While I was in the pass on the left [as one enters (for the entrance of the lake is divided by a small island) my canoe shipped a great deal of water. I discovered a great sheet of water which I took for Lake Otsandoske. I displayed my flag as a signal to all the canoes, which steered for me with the wind astern. Many shipped a good deal of water and suffered exceedingly from the heavy wind. I saw them all enter the Lake and land at the other end of the island to empty the water out of the canoes. Monsieur Pean had to change his clothes, which were wet through. I did not know where the portage was. I imagined that some vestiges still remained of the Fort the French had built in 1751 and which was after-

ber, 1797. One of his sons, François Joseph, became Lieutenant General, Chief Engineer, and Baron of the French Empire. See the Abbe Daniel's *Le Vicomte C. de Lery et sa Famille*, Montreal, 1867.

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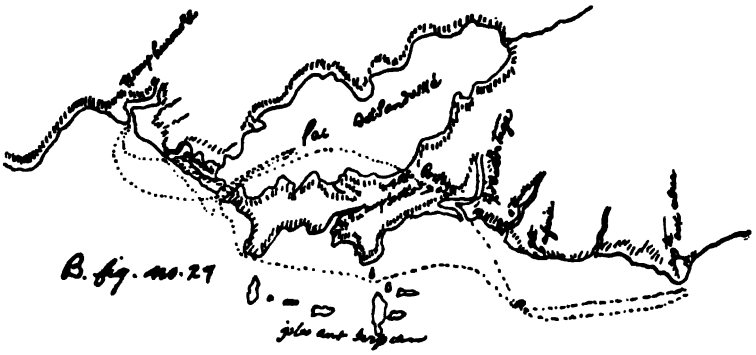
wards evacuated. To find it I followed the shore on the north side of the said lake, which runs East and West. After proceeding about three leagues, I found a clearing, where I landed at noon and discovered the ruins of the old Fort [Fig. 34]. I at once had the packages in my canoe carried across the portage. At two o'clock the whole had been taken over. Monsieur Pean arrived at 3 o'clock. The remainder of the day was spent in portaging the effects and the canoes; three of the latter, however, remained at the Little Lake. The portage is 57 arpents[1] in length; starting from the Little Lake, it runs N. by N. W. There are three small prairies to be crossed, which are at about equal distance from one another; after that is a small grove of trees and then the bank of the river of the portage on the shore of the Great Lake, where our camp was.

"I calculate that, from the river we call Riviere aux Hurons to the entrance of Lake Otsandoske, the distance is two leagues; for the space of one league the shore is bordered merely by a strip of woods, after which is a great prairie which ends at Lake Otsandoske.

"To enable one to understand the route of this day and that of Father Bonnecamp, Jesuit, in passing out of the Little Lake to Pointe aux Cedres, I will indicate in the figure below the route he took outside and which I followed inside [No. 27]:"



The expedition reached Detroit on August 6, 1754, where De Lery remained until the following March.

The following extract from De Lery's *Journal* for the month of March, 1755, gives the details of his journey to Fort Duquesne. It begins while he was still in Detroit:

"1755, March 1st, Saturday. A courier started for St. Joseph to carry the news from the Belle Riviere. At two o'clock the couriers who arrived here on the 24th February last, left for the Belle Riviere. The

[1] An arpent was an old French land measure, equal to 191.85 English feet; 57 arpents would be about 2.07 miles.

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savages in winter quarters were notified to hold themselves in readiness to proceed to Detroit at the opening of navigation, to hear the word of their Father Nontiaux [Onontio].

"2nd, Sunday. Snow fell to the depth of one inch; there was frost from midnight to 8 o'clock and it thawed during the remainder of the day; it froze again at night; wind W. A band of 40 Sauteurs arrived, who were going on the war-path among the Testes Plattes [Flat-heads]. The Commandant stopped them.

"3rd, Monday. Very cold; wind N.W. 10 Sauteurs left to continue their Journey, and 30 returned to their winter quarters in obedience to the Commandant's orders. At 8 o'clock the wind was N.E. and a little snow fell.

"4th, Tuesday. Weather cold; the Sun came out at 10 o'clock. I went in a cariole to the Riviere à Guignolet, north of Lake Ste. Clere about three leagues up the said Lake, as will be seen by the map I append to this Journal. At 4 o'clock two Iroquois arrived from the Belle Riviere, bearing letters from the Commandant of Fort Duquesne, who wrote me to proceed there, with the approval of Monsieur Dumuy, the Commandant of Detroit. When I offered to go, the latter told me he was keeping me to lead the savages of his Post who were to proceed to Fort Duquesne.

"5th, Wednesday. Weather very cold; wind W.N.W. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, Monsieur Dumuy told me I could start for Fort Duquesne; that he would not make himself responsible for what might happen if Fort Duquesne were in danger through lack of a person having a knowledge of fortification; that, moreover, Monsieur de Contrecœur, the Commandant of the said Fort, asked for the savages only when he should send other couriers, while he asked positively for me; thus, it was better that I should give up an uncertain journey and go on one that seemed more pressing.

"6th, Thursday. We wrote to Montreal to inform Monsieur the General that I was leaving for Fort Duquesne. The letters were sent by two savages, who were to take them to Niagara, whence the Commandant of that Fort would send them on to Montreal. I made arrangements about my few articles of furniture, which I left at Monsieur Dumuy's. I took the levels of the ground on both the short sides of the Fort from the River to the hill. Wind, N.W.; weather slightly cold.

"7th, Friday. It snowed and a little rain fell. I measured the distance from the small gate in the Curtain between the Outaouis and the Dauphin Bastions to the channel of the barques, that is to say, where they can moor. I found it to be fifty-four toises. Wind N.E. by N.; weather cloudy and cold.

"8th, Saturday. At half past 5 o'clock the wind was W.S.W. with

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rain; at noon it was South; at 7 o'clock W.N.W.; At 11 o'clock we had hail and rain, and the wind was very violent.

"9th, Sunday. It was cold in the morning and thawed at noon. I worked at taking some measures for the plan of the Fort and finished getting information from Monsieur [Robert] Navarre concerning the lands of the habitants.

"10th, Monday. I set about my departure, but was unable to leave, because the ice had broken up in the rivers, which were full of floating ice. The weather was cold at night and the wind north; at seven o'clock in the morning it veered to the South, where it remained all day. The Sun did not come out. I had everything prepared in readiness to start on the following day, in pirogues, following the ice in the River of Detroit. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon there was much thunder and rain, which made the weather milder. At 8 o'clock the stars came out and it did not freeze, which gave me good hopes that I should be able to start on the following day."

[Remainder of the page and the following page blank.]

"1755, March 15th, Saturday. As the wind blew from the water and it was impossible to embark, I decided to leave behind the two Frenchmen who had brought me in the pirogue, so that they might take it back to the Fort, and to travel by land with the two Iroquois. We started at 8 o'clock and at four we camped half a league beyond the Pointe aux Feviers. We broke through in several places. The weather was cold. We passed two rivers: one in the middle of the bay [Fig. 28], and the other almost at the Pointe aux Feviers. The savages were so loaded with our equipment that they were obliged to make trains with our *apichimons* or bear skins. I calculate that we traveled five and a half leagues[1] that day.

"16th, Sunday. The weather was fine but cold, but yet not sufficiently so to allow of our crossing the streams and rivers on the ice without breaking through. We crossed the Riviere à Toussain in the water; it is wide and shallow, and situate a league and a quarter from the Pointe aux Feviers. Here is a figure of that River [Fig. 32].

We walked over difficult ground, full of hot springs, and when we had to leave it and go on the shore ice, we ran the risk of breaking our legs, as the ice was not sound, and frequently there was no water underneath. We saw great numbers of swans, bustards, ducks, cranes, and other game, but they were so wild we could not approach them.

[1] A French league was a little less than two and one-half miles.

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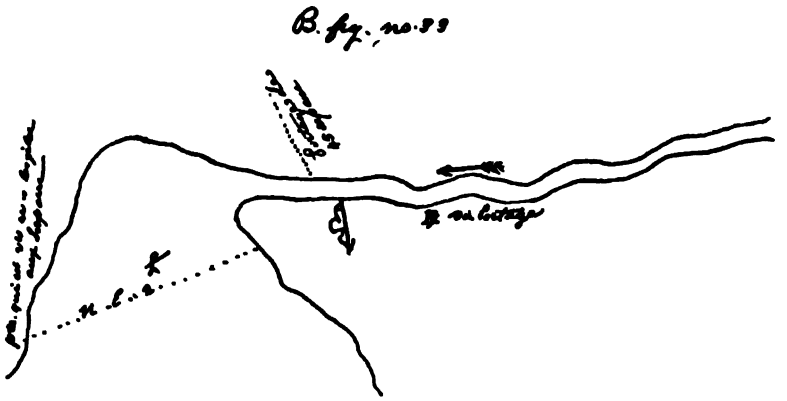
"Two of us arrived at the Riviere du Portage[1] at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Thomas, the Iroquois from the Lake of Two Mountains who was with me, went along the outer edge of the shore ice to go and get a pirogue on the other side of the River, and it was 5 o'clock when I got across. I left him to await the other savage, who had remained behind, and I went on to Lake Sandoske to see whether we could cross it, either in a canoe or on the ice. I arrived there at half past six o'clock, after walking continually in the water, of which that portage is full at that season. I found the Lake clear of ice and fired three gun-shots, the signal I had arranged with the Iroquois, who rejoined me at half past seven o'clock. He had not seen his comrade, who did not come to sleep with us. We fired several gun-shots to make ourselves heard by the French Traders on the South East shore of Lake dot Sandoske, but they did not answer. We had nothing for supper but a teal, as the savage who had remained behind carried the provisions.

"I examined the River of the Portage and found its figure different at this season from what it was in the month of August last year when I passed there; the grass was then high and the water lower [Fig. 33]:



"17th, Monday. Very early in the morning the Iroquois from the Lake started to go and meet the one from the Belle Riviere who had not joined us the previous evening. I placed a flag on the water's edge and fired several gun-shots to make the Traders on the opposite shore see and hear me, but they did not hear any more than on the previous day. At noon the two savages arrived. We placed in the water a large canoe of eight paddles that we found, and crossed three-quarters of a league above the Riviere du Poisson Doree [Pickerel Creek, which enters the bay near the southwestern extremity].

"I reached the house of Sieur Gouin, a Trader, at 4 o'clock in the

[1] Still called by that name.

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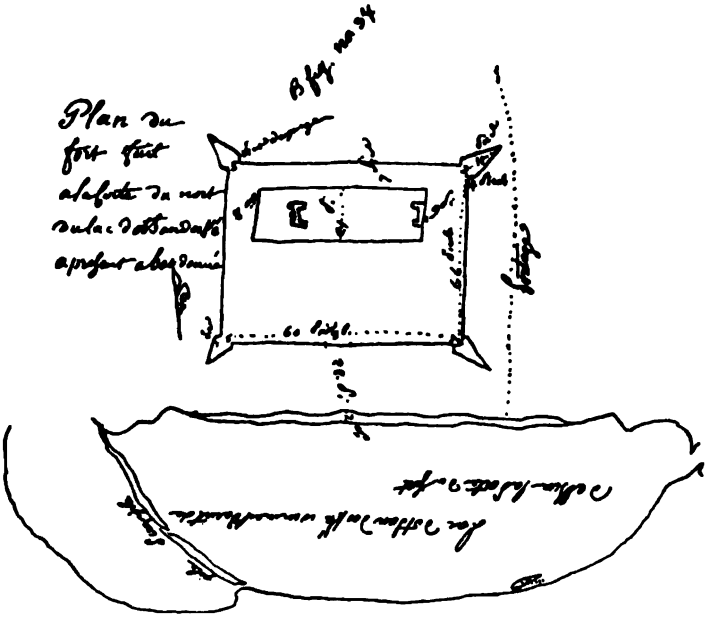
afternoon. We were a long time crossing because our canoe leaked a good deal and I was kept busy bailing while the two savages paddled. I learned there that the couriers who were going to the Fort. . . .



"18th, Tuesday. The wind was from the south and cold; the sun came out. The savages prepared and made a saddle for the horse that was to carry our provisions. I sent one of them with the Huron interpreter to the little village to get me a guide, and I particularly charged the latter with that mission, also to buy a horse for me. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon the interpreter and the savage returned without either guide or horse. Our two savages decided to take the route via the Presqu' Isle by canoe. This, added to what the Hurons told me about the Rivers having overflowed their banks and the woods being full of water, led me to decide to go in a canoe. I had one of six paddles prepared with all its fittings, to be ready to start very early the following morning. I wrote to Monsieur the Commandant of Detroit and sent him the statement of the few supplies advanced me by Sieur Gouin for those who owned the canoe, which I might perhaps leave at the Riviere à Sequin, called Gayahague [Figure 22].[1]

"19th, Wednesday. I was unable to start before noon, because the canoe had to be gummed, as it leaked a great deal. I went to sleep

[1] The Cuyahoga, or White River was called Saguin River by the Detroit French, after the Trader, Saguin, whom Robert Navarre visited on its banks in 1743.

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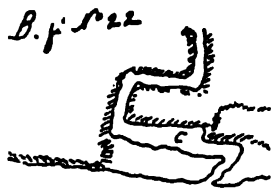
at the head of Lake Sandoske in a place sheltered from the wind. The weather was fine. We went to the Point on the Lake to see whether there was much ice. We found shore ice and, as the weather was setting in fine, this led us to hope that we should reach whither we proposed going with fair ease.



"I calculate that we traveled four and one-half leagues. Figure of the entrance of Lake dot Sandoske and view of the lands to the west, with the plan of the swamp as far as the portage of the village of Ainoton [Figure 35]:

"20th, Thursday. Heavy gale from the northeast. We remained, being unable to put our canoe in the water.

"21st, Friday. At 7 o'clock in the morning we embarked to go to the head of the swamp of Lake dot Sandoske to the East. We went about a league and a half and portaged over to the great lake, which we found full of ice. This compelled us to retrace our steps and go to the portage of the village of Aniauton,[1] which we did. At 5 o'clock we reached the said village, whereof only three cabins and some palisades remain. We decided to take the Conchake route, although it was long. We asked a Huron to guide us. I offered him the value of a beaver skin to take us to the Riviere à Sequin, but he refused, saying that his nation would think he was going on the war-path. This, in addition to the trouble the men of that nation had caused, with the same object, some days previously, led me to think that he would perhaps not submit without compulsion to all that might be favorable to us on the Oyo.

[1] So named for Anioton, a Huron chief associated with Nicolas in his revolt.

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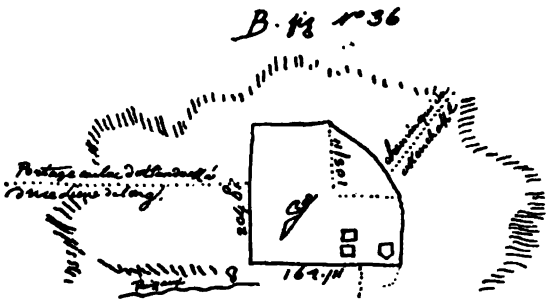
"The place where we were is that where the Hurons[1] took refuge after leaving Isle aux Bois Blanc, and killed the Frenchmen. They had erected a fort there, whereof the following is the figure [No. 36]:



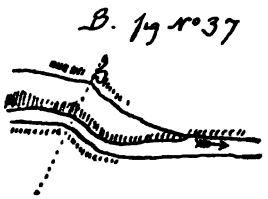
"22nd, Saturday. Very early in the morning one of my savages started to go to the house of Sieur Gouin, the Trader, at the Lake, to get his horse. We got our packages ready to start in the afternoon, if he returned in time. I wrote Sieur Gouin to send two Frenchmen to get his canoe with its fittings, left on the lake shore on the portage of the village.

"There was no more snow on the ground and this caused the woods to be full of water. We had found a good deal on the previous day on our way to the village. At 5 o'clock the savage who had gone to get the horse, returned. The Frenchmen were to come the following day to take away their canoe.

"I wrote to Monsieur Dumuy and to Madame de Lery and dated the letters the 23rd March. The weather was fine, with a little rain in the morning.

"An Anniez [Mohawk] who had passed the winter at a three days' march from this village, arrived. He was going to trade at Sandoske. He told me he had a horse for sale. I accepted the offer. He promised to join me in two days, on his return from the trade, and deliver me the horse.

"23rd, Sunday. At half-past 8 o'clock in the morning we started on the Conchake road. We marched until 4 o'clock when we camped on the bank of a little river whose waters flow to the East. I think it is a branch of the Riviere au Vermillon. Our bearing was South and the distance traveled seven leagues. At 2 o'clock we passed the Riviere au Vermillon [the present Huron] whereof the following is the figure [No. 37]:



"The north bank is steep, the south one is not. It is from twelve to fifteen toises[2] wide and the water is two feet deep. From 10 o'clock until noon we passed through a prairie full of water in which were numbers of crawfish, and between that prairie and our camping-place we passed two very extensive groves of ash trees, through water mid-leg deep. The only good piece of road

[1] Nicolas's band.

[2] A toise is equal to 2.1 yards, or 1.92 metres.

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we had was between the village and the prairie, because that road is on high land.

"At 5 o'clock it began to rain; the wind was E. N. E.

"24th, Monday. The rain stopped at 8h. 15m. At 9h. we started. At noon we passed the Riviere au Vermillon [Huron], whereof the figure is as follows [No. 37½]:

"At 2 o'clock we passed another branch. In the one we passed at noon the water was a foot deep. It is from seven to eight toises wide. To cross it, one has to descend and ascend, that is to say, that it is between two hills with a rather steep slope. At 5 o'clock we camped on one of the branches of the said Riviere au Vermillon [Huron]. Our bearing was south and the distance traveled seven leagues. We met a Huron who told us that twenty Chaouanons had arrived at Sandoske. I thought they were those who had come to Detroit to speak. At 6 o'clock the rain began and continued until midnight.

"25th, Tuesday. It rained from midnight until 8 o'clock, ending with a very heavy shower. At 8h. 15m. we started. We camped at 5h. 15m. I calculate that we traveled eight leagues in a southeasterly direction. We left the road to try and cut across to Conchake. We passed several rivers, both large and small, whose waters flow right and left of the road and of whose names we are ignorant. Most of them are about five toises wide.

"26th, Wednesday. At 8 o'clock we started. At 6 o'clock we camped. Our bearing was southeast. We made many detours to avoid bad pieces of country. We traveled eight leagues. At noon we passed a river flowing eastward. It is six toises wide and the water is two feet deep. In the afternoon, we passed several small ones. We saw the dung of Illinois buffaloes. I think we passed the height of land in the morning[1] and that the river we crossed at noon is the Conchake. Fine weather all day.

"27th, Thursday. We started at 8h. 15m. At 11 o'clock we came upon the main road leading to Conchake. We had traveled in a southeasterly direction. At 2 o'clock we came upon a branch of the Conchake River, which we followed until 5h. 15m. when we camped.[2] At 4h. 15m. we passed a place on the bank of the said river where some Hurons [Wyandots] had taken refuge after the treacherous deed they committed at Detroit. It is called the Fugitives' Camp. [See Hutchins's references to this place on pages 206, 209.]

[1] The north line of the present county of Richland is on this dividing ridge between the waters of Lake Erie and those of the Muskingum River.

[2] Probably the Black Fork of the Mohican River, which rises in the northern part of the present Richland County, Ohio.

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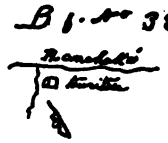
"After we struck the road at 11h. 15m. we traveled S. by S. E. This branch of the river is from seven to eight toises wide, and canoes can go down it. The weather was cloudy all day; a little rain fell also; it began at half-past six and lasted all night, falling heavily. We had traveled eight leagues.

"28th, Friday. The rain stopped at 7 o'clock. At eight we started. At eleven we again followed the river. Until then we had passed many mountains. At 4h. 45m. we arrived at Quiouhiahinse, which means 'boiling water' in the Huron language.

"At 3 o'clock we passed a steep declivity beside the river, where the road through the rocks was very narrow and dangerous for a distance of two arpents. From noon until we were two leagues from Tourieuse, we ascended and descended many mountains and rocky places. Tourieuse is a place whither the Huron [Wyandot] fugitives had withdrawn. At that spot is a river that falls into the Conchake. It is fully twenty toises wide; and that of Konchake as many [Fig. 38]. Our route was S. S. E. and we traveled 8¼ leagues. The rain fell in showers during a portion of the afternoon.



"29th, Saturday. We started at 8 o'clock and at once crossed the branch of the Konchake River, the water being up to our waists. At 3 o'clock we crossed a second branch [Killbuck Creek?] of the Konchake, not so wide as the first, but deeper. We were benumbed with cold, all the more so that hail and sleet fell all day, with a heavy north wind. At 5 o'clock we came to a small branch of the Conchake, across which we waded, the water being up to our knees. Its width is four toises. At half-past five we left the Conchake River and at 6 o'clock we reached the village of Conchake.[1] During the day we passed many mountains and steep declivities along the said Conchake River, which we followed nearly all the time. It may be from twenty to twenty-five toises wide. The rain had caused its waters to rise; it is rather rapid. Our route was nearly always S.E. and we traveled at least seven or eight leagues. We noticed that the buds were beginning to come out on the sassafras trees.

"30th, Sunday. Easter Sunday. At half-past eight we started; and camped at half-past five. At noon we left the Riviere de Nagerreconnan and followed a stream[2] until 4 o'clock when we ascended a high mountain, after which we followed a stream running east by north-

[1] It was located one to three miles east of the Forks of the Muskingum on the north side. The Mohican or Walhonding (Conchake) and the Tuscarawas (Naguerreconnan) unite at the Forks to form the Muskingum River, where Coshocton is now built.

[2] White Eyes Creek in Coshocton County.

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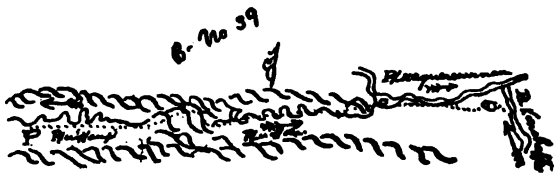
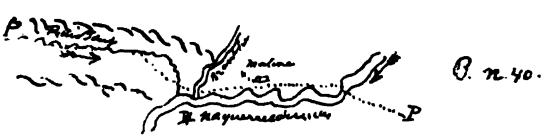
east.[1] The one we left at 4 o'clock follows the same direction, but we were going up it while we were descending the last one. Our route was nearly always E. by N.E. Here is a figure of today's route [No. 39]. I calculate that we traveled 8¼ leagues. We had snow and hail all day. The sun did not come out. Nevertheless we marched on.'

"Conchake is a place where the Hurons [Wyandots] took refuge during the war [1747–48]; 120 of them died in one summer. One can still see the graves and the vestiges of the village that stood there then. At present there are only two cabins, one of which is occupied by a Christian savage from Sault St. Louis who has been there a long while. The other belongs to the Five Nations. Tegana-Koissin lent me a horse for my journey to Fort Duquesne without specifying any price. He was to send for it in a month. Weather cold; strong north wind.



"31st, Monday. I was unable to start before half-past eight, because the horse lent me by the savage at Conchake had run away. We looked for him, but in vain, so that I had again to use my legs for the journey and was much disgusted at not having the horse. At 11 o'clock we came to the River Naguerreconnan. At noon we passed two Huron winter cabins. We had followed the stream of the previous day which falls into the river.[2] At 11h. 30m. we followed the said River until 4 o'clock, when we waded across it, the water being up to our waists. It may be thirty toises wide. Until 12 o'clock we had traveled E. by N.E.; from noon to 5h. 15m., N.E. by N. At 5h. 15m. we camped. We found mineral coal on the mountains and below. The distance we traveled was 7¼ leagues. Figure of our route [No. 40]:



"1st April, Tuesday. We started at half-past seven and camped at half-past four; we traveled about 7¼ to 7¾ leagues; we ascended and descended two high mountains, going in a northerly direction for this. At 8h. 45m. we crossed a branch of the River Naguerre Konnan. The water runs north at that place.[3] We

[1] Sugar (formerly Margaret's) Creek in Tuscarawas County. See Hutchins's map of this part of the route in Smith's *Bouquet*, reproduced at page 202 of this volume.

[2] At the present town of Canal Dover, Tuscarawas County.

[3] Probably the stream now known as Connotton Creek which runs through Harrison, Carroll, and Tuscarawas counties.

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The Site of Conchake Town, looking East from Muskingum Forks.

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passed four prairies, the largest being a league in extent. After passing the two mountains at 9h. 45m. we went E. N. E. until noon and east from noon to half-past four. During the day we passed several small mountains. Weather fine; wind E. N. E. It began to rain at 7 o'clock and lasted until midnight.

"2nd, Wednesday. It rained from midnight until 9 o'clock, when we started. At 1h. 15m. the rain began again and we camped. We traveled two leagues in an easterly direction. At 10 o'clock we crossed the branch of the River Naguerre Konnant,[1] ascended and descended a mountain, nearly always following the same branch, which is three toises wide, on the bank of which we slept. I estimated that we were eighty leagues from Lake Dosandoske according to my calculation of each day's journey. As on the previous day, I found the country very fine and very suitable for settlement.

"3rd, Thursday. It snowed at night and the weather was very cold, as it was also during the day. We started at 10 o'clock when the wind stopped. At 4h. 30m. we camped, having travelled seven leagues. We followed the branch of the River Naguerrekonan until it was only two feet wide. We ascended and descended a mountain. We came to a small stream which we followed. At half-past one we crossed the road leading to Cachelacheki.[2] It seems to run N. N. E. At 3h. 15m. we crossed a River which is a branch of the Kenten Raiatanion.[3] This is the same which, in 1739,[4] I called Riviere au Portrait, because, at the spot where it enters the Belle Riviere, there are many marks and figures of men and animals cut out on the rocks, as if with chisels. It is three toises wide; the depth of the water is one foot six inches, and it flows southward where we crossed it. At 4 o'clock we again came to the said river. We followed it until 4h. 10m., when we left it. We passed many mountains. Our direction was E. by N.E.

"4th, Friday. We started at 7h. 15m. At 9h. 45m. we crossed a River fifteen toises wide, the water being two feet deep. It flows south-

[1] Sandy Creek Branch of the Tuscarawas, in the present Stark and Carroll counties. The trail which De Lery here followed was probably the one which crossed Big Sandy Creek in the present township of Sandy in Stark County.

[2] Kuskuskies. Vaudreuil wrote it "Cachekacheki" in 1759. *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, x., 949.

[3] Little Beaver Creek, West Fork. The word *Kenten-raia tanion* has a meaning similar to *Outstinragayatonyon*, for which see note 1, page 180.

[4] On his way to the Chickasaws. He accompanied the expedition of Longueuil, which left Montreal in June, 1739. These pictured rocks are still visible at low water stages of the Ohio River. They were photographed by Mrs. Mary Calhoon Taylor in the summer of 1908, and some of these photographs are reproduced in this volume. They are described in Dr. Henry C. McCook's story of *The Latimers*, p. 24. Lewis Evans refers to them as "antique sculptures" on his map of 1755, but locates them a little too far down the Ohio.

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ward. Between our starting point and the said River we crossed two streams at equal distances. At noon we crossed a River similar to that which we crossed at 9h. 45m. It flows southward and eastward like the other branch of the River Outstinragayatonyon,[1] a branch of which we passed on the previous day. At 2h. 30m. we came to a small stream that falls into the River Chininque.[2] At 5h. 15m. we camped. I estimate that we traveled today ten leagues E. by N.E. At 6 o'clock it began to rain and it lasted all night. Fine country with open woods. In the evening we heard cries, which my savages recognized as those of panthers, of which they have a great dread. To protect ourselves during the night we made a strong shelter, because they say those animals can climb. We put our arms in order and one of us remained on guard. We heard the same cries in the distance throughout the night.

"5th, Saturday. I started at a quarter past seven in the morning. At 8h. 45m. we came to the Riviere de Chininque, two leagues from the spot where we slept. We passed some high mountains. That River is about thirty-five toises wide; the water is four and one-half feet deep. It runs north and south from the place where we crossed it to the Belle Riviere, into which it falls from twelve to fifteen arpents lower down. The route we followed to reach it was E. by southeast. At 10h. 15m. we came to the Belle Riviere which I had not seen for sixteen years, when I scaled it on my way to the Thicachats[3] in 1739. We followed it to the Little Chaouanon Village[4] where we arrived half an hour after noon. It is four leagues distant from the River Chininque. Half way is a house in which a French officer [La Force] spent the winter in 1754. Figure of the said house [No. 40½]:

"At half-past two I started on horseback for Fort Duquesne, which

I reached at half-past eight. For one-half the distance one goes through woods along the Oyo River; then one goes on the beach for two leagues and then enters the woods, where the road is good. The beach is followed only when the water is low, to avoid the mountains and rocky ravines on the road through the woods. The Petit Rocher[5] is on the side opposite to the road. The following is approximately the figure of the river, which I could not see very distinctly, because night had fallen [No. 41].

[1] Cuoq, in his *Iroquois Lexicon*, gives the meaning of *otstenrake*, as "on the rock"; and of *atonnion*, as "screaming eagle," and also, as "the name of a war-chief." Could the name given to the Little Beaver by De Lery refer to the pictured rocks in the bed of the Ohio at the mouth of that creek? One of the pictures (shown in the illustrations) is that of a war-eagle (*i. e.*, armed with a knife).

[2] Big Beaver River.

[3] Chickasaws.

[4] The new Logstown.

[5] Now known as McKee's Rock.

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The "Eagle on the Rock" at the Mouth of Little Beaver Creek.

Pictured Rocks on Bed of Ohio River at the Mouth of Little Beaver Creek.

Exposed during a low-water stage in the summer of 1908.
Photographs made by Mrs. Mary Calhoon Taylor.

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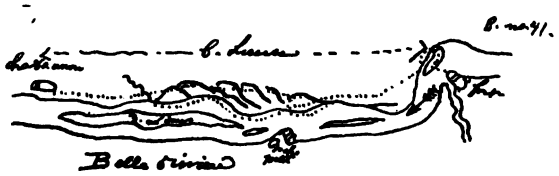
"I estimate the distance from the Chaouanon village to the Fort to be. . . ."

The foregoing extracts from the *Journals* of Lieutenant de Lery serve to clear up several obscure points in the early Indian history of Ohio.



They locate the site of Nicolas's stronghold as on the southwestern shore of Sandusky Bay, although not so definite in giving the location as might be wished. They also place the site of the French Fort at Sandusky as south of the Portage River and on the north shore of the Bay. From De Lery's description, its site must have been about one mile south of the present Port Clinton. This fort was built in the winter of 1750–51; but abandoned by the French in 1752 or 1753. William M. Darlington located the fort of Chief Nicolas as probably on Cherry Island, in the marshes between Green Creek and the Sandusky River, about two miles above the mouth of the river, on the east side. From De Lery's description, it would seem to have been below the mouth of that River, on the south shore of the Bay.

The stronghold of the Hurons, which De Lery calls the Fugitives' Camp, and locates near the head of the Mohican, may be the same site which is shown on Hutchins's maps of 1764 and 1778 as an Ottawa Old Fort. It will be remembered that there was a large band of Ottawas with Nicolas at Sandusky, whom Kinousaki, the Ottawa chief, visited in 1748, and vainly urged to return to Detroit.

De Lery gives us the names by which the Mohican and Tuscarawas Rivers were known to the Hurons of Detroit in 1755,—namely, the Conchake and the Naguerre-konnan. *Naguerrekonnan* means "place of the beaver." The Onondaga word for "beaver" according to Zeisberger, is *Nagarriaki*, and, according to the early *French Onondaga Dictionary*, *Nagariagui*.

We are also enabled to determine definitely the date of the settlement of the Wyandot town (Conchake) at the Forks of the Muskingum, as well as to learn its name. It was built by a part of Nicolas's band in the spring of 1748. This town was visited by Christopher Gist in December, 1750. He speaks of it then simply as Muskingum, a Town of the Wyandots (*i. e.*, at Muskingum). His description of the town in 1750 has been given in the preceding chapter. Hutchins's map in Smith's *Bouquet* (1764), shows the site of this village, which is described as an Old Wyandot Town.[1]

This Town was still in existence as late as June, 1752, when Captain

[1] See p. 202, this volume.

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William Trent passed there on his way to Pickawillany. He states in his *Journal*, under date of June 29th, "We got to Muskingum, 150 miles from the Logstown, where we met some white men from Hockhocken." De Lery describes it as the place where the Hurons took refuge during the War of 1745–48, and states that 120 of them died there in one summer; and that in 1755 there were but two cabins remaining. When Gist was there, from December 14, 1750, to January 15, 1751, he found it to contain one hundred families of the Wyandots (Hurons), "or Little Mingoes," half of whom were friendly to the English and the other half attached to the French interest. It is probable that the small-pox, which created such havoc among the Ohio tribes in 1751 and 1752, carried off the greater part of the inhabitants.

The name, "Kenten Raiantanion," which De Lery applies to Little Beaver Creek, is an Iroquois term, and may possibly refer to a village or district of the destroyed Eries, mentioned by La Salle and located on Franquelin's map of 1684 as Kentienton(*i. e.*,"many fields," or "prairie"). *Kente*[1] (or *kenta*, or *kante*, properly *kahenta*), is an Iroquois word for "field," or "prairie," and was applied to a Cayuga village on Quinte (Kente) Bay, on the north side of Lake Ontario, in 1673. Lake Erie is called Lake Conty[2] on a French map of 1682, which Parkman ascribed to Franquelin. La Hontan called it Lake Conti in his map of 1700. However, we see that De Lery uses the word *Kentenrai-atanion* as a synonym for *Outstinragay-atonyon;* and the last word means, apparently, "the eagle on the rock," or "the rock of the war-eagle." Both words would seem to refer to the pictured rocks at the mouth of Little Beaver Creek. As Lewis Evans called these carvings "antique sculptures" in 1755 (De Lery noted them in 1739), the question occurs as to whether or not the pictures were cut by the Eries or their contemporaries, or by the early Delawares and Shawnees who came west to the Ohio about 1724 and thereafter.

De Lery mentions the Little Chaouanon Village, "four leagues distant [east] from the Riviere Chininque [Big Beaver]." This was Logstown, which Scarrooyady had burned on leaving there to join Washington in the Spring of 1754, and which the French rebuilt for the Shawnees after Washington's defeat at Great Meadows.

Not the least interesting portion of these extracts from De Lery's *Journals* is the information that the writer of those *Journals* kept a record of the expedition of Longueuil down the Ohio River in 1739. It is to be hoped that this earlier *Journal* of De Lery may yet be found and published. A portion of it is still in existence, preserved in the

[1] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vii., 16; ix., 96, 792. *Kenta-ke*, "the place of the fields," or "prairie," is the original of our word "Kentucky."

[2] *Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.*, iv., 227.

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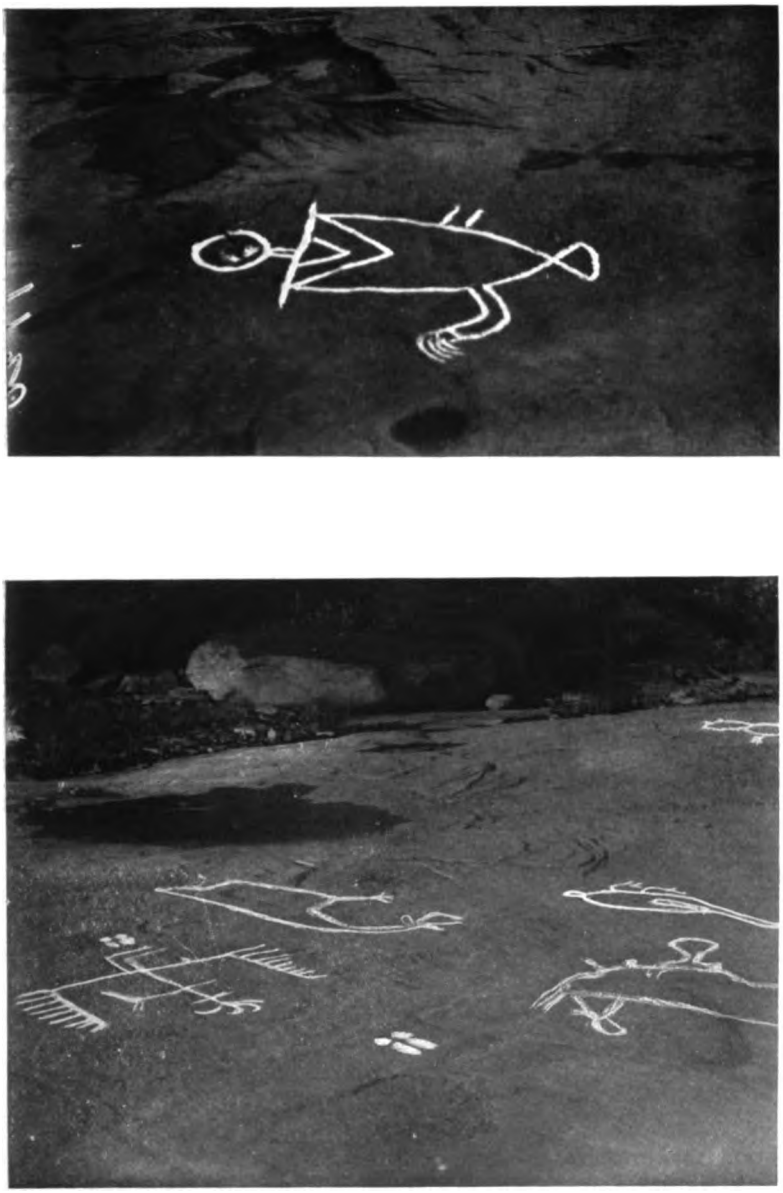

Pictured Rocks at the Mouth of Little Beaver Creek.

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French Archives, a copy of which has been made for the Canadian Government. This is for the month of February, 1740, and it gives a very detailed account of Bienville's campaign against the Chickasaws.[1]

Another valuable piece of information contained in the extracts printed on the preceding pages is the confirmation given to the fact that the name by which the Cuyahoga River was known to the Indians and inhabitants of Detroit so late as 1755, was Sequin, or Seguin. De Lery obtained this information from Robert Navarre himself, the same person who had been sent by the Commandant of Detroit in 1743 to make a report on the trading post of Saguin, the French Trader, located on the White River—the name then applied to the Cuyahoga. We thus learn that Saguin's own name was given to the Cuyahoga in 1755, a name which was afterwards erroneously applied to an adjacent river by the Connecticut settlers after 1796, and which has since been corrupted to Chagrin.

It will be observed that De Lery, in travelling from the Forks of the Muskingum (Conchake) to Fort Duquesne, followed the valleys of White Eyes Creek and Sugar Creek to the mouth of the latter stream (now the site of Canal Dover, Tuscarawas County, Ohio), thence continued up the western bank of the Tuscarawas River, crossing it below the mouth of Connotton Creek; thence in a northeastern direction, crossing the latter stream and the Big Sandy and up the latter to the head-waters of the Little Beaver. From the fact that he did not follow the west bank of the Tuscarawas to the mouth of the Big Sandy, it is possible that there was not at that time any Indian village standing at that point. Gist found a small village of the Ottawas there when he passed on his way to the Lower Shawnee Town in December, 1750. The Delawares from the vicinity of Fort Duquesne began to gather here in 1756, and established a large town, which was known as Tuscarawas, or King Beaver's Town. It is probable the Ottawas left their settlement at this point soon after the destruction of Pickawillany, in 1752. John Fraser wrote from the Monongahela Forks, August 27, 1753: "I have not got any skins this summer, for there has not been an Indian between Weningo [Venango] and the Pict [Miami] country hunting this summer, by reason of the French."

During the French War of 1755–62, the Indians of central Ohio used a shorter route between Sandusky Bay, the Upper Muskingum, and Fort Duquesne. It was travelled over by Major Robert Rogers and his Colonial Rangers in January, 1761, on their return from Detroit. Rogers's account of the journey reads as follows:

"On the 23d of December [1760], I set out for Pittsburgh, marching along the west end of Lake Erie, till the 2d of January, 1761, when we arrived at Lake Sandusky.

[1] *Canadian Archives*, Calendar 1905, i., 461.

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"I have a very good opinion of the soil from Detroit to this place; it is timbered principally with white and black oaks, hickerie, locusts, and maple. We found wild apples along the west end of Lake Erie, some rich savannahs of several miles extent, without a tree, but clothed with jointed grass near six feet high, which, rotting there every year, adds to the fertility of the soil. The length of Sandusky is about fifteen miles from east to west, and about six miles across it. We came to a town of the Windot Indians [Junundat], where we halted to refresh.

"On January 3d, southeast-by-east three miles, east-by-south one mile and a half, southeast a mile through a meadow, crossed a small creek about six yards wide, running east, traveled southeast-by-east, one mile, passed thro' Indian houses, southeast three quarters of a mile, and came to a small Indian town of about ten houses. There is a remarkable fine spring at this place, rising out of the side of a small hill with such force that it boils above the ground in a column three feet high. I imagine it discharges ten hogsheads of water in a minute.[1] From this town our course was south-southeast three miles, south two miles, crossed a brook about five yards wide, running east-southeast, traveled south one mile, crossed a brook about four yards wide, running east-southeast, traveled south-southeast two miles, crossed a brook about eight yards wide This day we killed plenty of deer and turkies on our march, and encamped.

"On the 4th we traveled south-southeast one mile, and came to a river about twenty-five yards wide [the Huron], crossed the river, where are two Indian houses, from thence south-by-east one mile, south-southeast one mile and a half, southeast two miles, south-southeast one mile, and came to an Indian house, where there was a family of Windots hunting, from thence south-by-east a quarter of a mile, south five miles, came to the river we crossed this morning; the course of the river here is west-northwest.[2] This day killed several deer and other game and encamped.

"On the 5th, traveled south-southwest half a mile, south one mile, south-southwest three quarters of a mile, south half a mile, crossed two small brooks running east, went a south-southwest course half a mile, south half a mile, southeast half a mile, south two miles, southeast one mile, south half a mile, crossed a brook running east-by-north, traveled south-by-east half a mile, south-southeast two miles, southeast three quarters of a mile, south-southeast one mile, and came to Maskongam[3]

[1] Castalia, or Cold Spring, in Erie County.

[2] "If the reader will follow the track of the Sandusky, Mansfield, and Newark Railroad, eleven miles south from Monroeville, he will probably be on the route of Rogers, and will twice cross the Huron River."—Taylor, *History of Ohio* (1854), p. 124.

[3] Black Fork of the Mohican, which unites with the Lake Fork and, lower down, with Owl Creek, to form the White Woman or Walhonding River.

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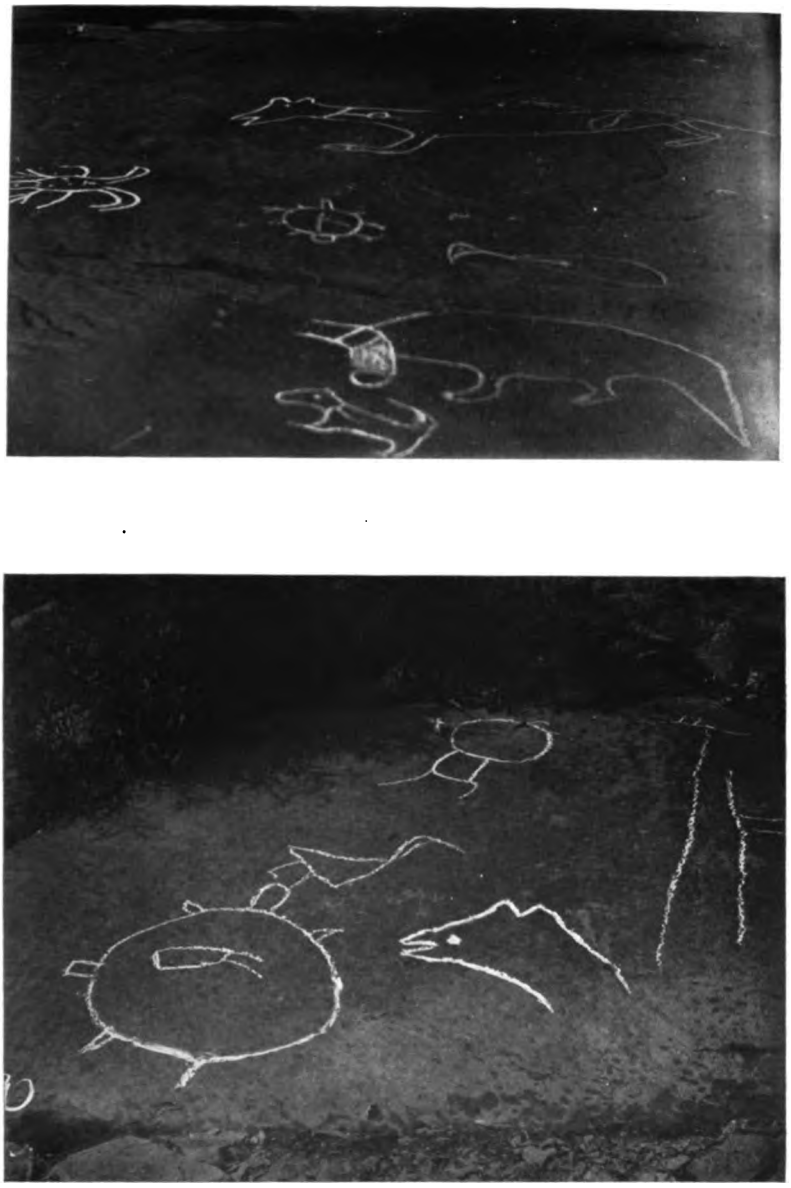

Pictured Rocks at the Mouth of Little Beaver Creek.

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Creek, about eight yards wide, crossed the Creek, and encamped about thirty yards from it. This day killed deer and turkies in our march.

"On the 6th, we traveled about fourteen or fifteen miles, our general course being about east-southeast, killed plenty of game, and encamped by a very fine spring.

"The 7th, our general course about southeast, traveled about six miles, and crossed Maskongam Creek, running south, about twenty yards wide.[1] There is an Indian town about twenty yards from the Creek, on the east side, which is called the Mingo Cabbins. There were but two or three Indians in the place, the rest were hunting. These Indians have plenty of cows, horses, hogs, etc.[2]

"The 8th, halted at this town to mend our mogasons and kill deer, the provisions I brought from Detroit being entirely expended. I went a hunting with ten of the Rangers, and by ten o'clock got more venison then we had occasion for.

"On the 9th traveled about twelve miles, our general course being southeast, and encamped by the side of a long meadow, where there were a number of Indians hunting.[3]

"The 10th, about the same course, we traveled eleven miles and encamped, having killed in our march this day three bears and two elks.

"The 11th, continuing near the same course, we traveled thirteen miles and encamped, where were a number of Wiandots and Six Nation Indians hunting.

"The 12th, traveled six miles, bearing rather more to the east, and encamped. This evening we killed several beaver.

"The 13th, traveled about northeast six miles, and came to the Delawares' Town, called Beaver Town.[4] This Indian town stands on good land, on the west side of the Maskongam River, and opposite to the town, on the east side, is a fine river [Sandy Creek] which discharges itself into it. The latter is about thirty yards wide, and the Maskongam about forty; so that when they both join they make a very fine stream, with a swift current running to the southwest. There are about 3,000 acres of cleared ground round this place. The number of warriors in this town is about 180. All the way from the Lake Sandusky I found level land and a good country. No pine trees of any sort; the timber is

[1] Jerome Branch of Lake Fork of Mohican, near Jeromeville, Ashland County. See pp. 187, 206, 208, this volume.

[2] Shown on Hutchins's maps of 1764 and 1778 as "Mohican John's Town"; located in the present Mohican Township, Ashland County.

[3] Still known as "Long Prairie," in Plain Township, Wayne County.

[4] The Indian town on Tuscarawas, opposite the mouth of Big Sandy Creek; at this time the residence of the leading Delaware chiefs, and named after King Beaver.

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white, black, and yellow oak, black and white walnut, cyprus, chestnut, and locust trees. At this town I staid till the 16th, in the morning, to refresh my party, and procured some corn of the Indians to boil with our venison.

"On the 16th, we marched nearly an east course about nine miles, and encamped by the side of a small river [Sandy Creek].

"On the 17th, kept much the same course, crossing several rivulets and creeks. We traveled about twenty miles, and encamped by the side of a small river [Sandy Creek?].

"On the 18th, we traveled about sixteen miles, an easterly course, and encamped by a brook.

"The 19th, about the same general course, we crossed two considerable streams of water [West Fork and Middle Fork of Little Beaver?], and some large hills timbered with chestnut and oak, and having traveled about twenty miles, we encamped by the side of a small river [North Fork of Little Beaver], at which place were a number of Delawares hunting.

"On the 20th, keeping still an easterly course, and having much the same traveling as the day before, we advanced on our journey about nineteen miles, which brought us to Beaver Creek, where are two or three Indian houses on the west side of the Creek and in sight of the Ohio.

"Bad weather prevented our journeying on the 21st, but the next day we prosecuted our march. Having crossed the Creek, we traveled twenty miles, nearly southeast, and encamped with a party of Indian hunters.

"On the 23d, we came again to the Ohio, opposite to Fort Pitt, from whence I ordered Lieut. McCormack to march the party across the country to Albany; and after tarrying there [at Fort Pitt] until the 26th, I came the common road to Philadelphia, from thence to New York, where, after this long, fatiguing tour, I arrived February 14, 1761."

It will be observed from Rogers's *Journal*, that he did not follow the Western Branch of the Muskingum (the Walhonding) down to its junction with the Eastern Branch (Tuscarawas), as De Lery did; but left it before it joined the Lake Fork of the Mohican Creek (which unites with the Black Fork in the present Knox Township, Holmes County), and pursued nearly an eastward course across the present counties of Ashland, Wayne, and Stark, to King Beaver's Town on the Tuscarawas, near the site of the present village of Bolivar, Tuscarawas County. For this reason, Rogers did not visit Nettawatwees' (or New Comer's) Town and the other settlements of the Delawares along the Tuscarawas [if they were there so early as 1761, which is somewhat doubtful] from its mouth to the mouth of Big Sandy Creek, near which King Beaver's Town

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Pictured Rocks at the Mouth of Little Beaver Creek.

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was located. The Indian Town which Rogers reached on January 7th, and which he calls Mingo Cabbins, was the same village shown on Hutchins's maps of 1764 and 1778, under the name of Mohickon John's Town, probably located in the present Mohican Township, Ashland County, at or near where the Jerome and Muddy creeks unite to form the Lake Fork of the Mohican.[1] Evans shows a "Mohiccons" Town in this locality on his map of 1755. Hutchins also, on his map of 1764, locates Owl Town, in the Forks of Owl and Mohican creeks, where they unite to form the Walhonding or White Woman River. Owl Town seems to have been identical with Tullihas, to which James Smith was carried as a captive in 1755.

Lewis Evans's map of 1755, it will be noticed, does not show the trail on the west side of the Tuscarawas, leading from Tuscarawas Town to Conchake, at its mouth,—the path followed by Gist in 1750; by De Lery, in part, in 1755; and by Bouquet's army in 1764.

Evans does show, however, a trail along the east bank of Tuscarawas, from Muskingum (Conchake) to Tuscarawas. Before reaching the Town last named, it passed through the place which Evans calls Three Legs Town. This was located on the south side of Big Stillwater Creek at its mouth, and is thus shown on Hutchins's map of 1764, where it is called Three Legs Old Town. In Hutchins's and Smith's account of Bouquet's march, it is stated, under date of October 9th, after the army had proceeded about twenty-five miles westward from the mouth of Big Beaver Creek, and, the day before, crossed the North and Middle Forks of Little Beaver: "In this day's march, the Path divided into two branches, that to the southwest leading to the lower towns upon the Muskingham. In the Forks of the Path stand several trees painted by the Indians, in a hieroglyphic manner, denoting the number of wars in which they have been engaged, and the particulars of their success in prisoners and scalps. The Camp No. 8 lies on a run and level piece of ground, with Yellow Creek close on the left and a rising ground near the rear of the right face. The Path, after the army left the Forks, was so brushy and entangled that they were obliged to cut all the way before them, and also to lay several bridges, in order to make it passable for the horses; so that this day they proceeded only five miles, three-quarters, and seventy perches."

This Fork of the path, which Hutchins notes, was probably at the same point reached by De Lery, April 3, 1755, when he wrote: "At half-past one we crossed the Road leading to Cachelacheki [Kuskuskies]." Darlington states that the Trail which Gist followed, in this part of Ohio, passed through the northwest corner of the present Wayne

[1] Thwaites erroneously locates the site of Mohickon John's Town as near Reedsburg, in Wayne County.

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Township, Columbiana County; thence to a point near Hanover, on the Pittsburg and Cleveland Railroad, in the same county; thence, a little south of Bayard, and to near Oneida, in Carroll County, where it reached Big Sandy Creek. The head-waters of the West Fork of Little Beaver Creek come together in the northern part of the present township of Franklin, in Columbiana County and run eastward across that and Wayne townships, nearly two miles south of the north line of those townships. The North Fork of Yellow Creek rises in the southern part of the same township of Franklin, and runs southeast past the extreme southwestern corner of Wayne Township. The "Yellow Creek" here referred to by Hutchins, however, does not seem to have been identical with the stream in eastern Ohio now known as Yellow Creek (although the latter is correctly shown on Hutchins's map of 1764); but it was the same stream which is now called the West Fork of Little Beaver Creek. Hutchins confused the names. The junction of the two paths was, perhaps, near the northeast corner of Wayne Township.[1]

Three Legs Town, which stood at the mouth of Big Stillwater Creek, and is shown on Evans's and Mitchell's maps of 1755, is called an Old Town (abandoned) by Hutchins in 1764. No history of this settlement has been preserved, and few notices of the place have come down to us. Mitchener, in his *Muskingum and Tuscarawas Valleys*, gives an apocryphal legend of a chief of that name, for whom the Town was named, and who, he states, was killed by one of the Highlanders captured at the time of Braddock's defeat, and carried there as a prisoner.[2] Mitchener's "legends," however, are nearly all pure fiction, and not worthy of serious consideration. On some of the early maps of Ohio, Stillwater Creek is called Three Legs Creek, and the Connotton, which enters the Tuscarawas at the site of the present Zoar, is called One Leg Creek.

Conchake, the name which was given, apparently by the Indians of Detroit, to the Wyandot Town which stood above the Forks of Muskingum from 1747 to 1752–53, and to the West Fork of that river (now called the Mohican, White Woman, and Walhonding), has been preserved to this day in the name of the town of Coshocton, situated just below] the Muskingum Forks in the county of Coshocton. The present town is built partly on the site of a later Delaware village,

[1] "From information which has been collected by the Pioneer Society [of Columbiana County], it appears that this [the Muskingum] trail entered Ohio about two miles south from Achor, in the present township of Middleton; traversed that township and Elk Run [township]; entered Centre [township] at section 25; passed through Wayne near what is known as "McKaigs Mill"; and thence southwesterly through the township of Franklin. The trail, as remembered by the first settlers, was from two to three feet wide, and in many places *higher* than the ground on either side."—Horace Mack, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio*, p. 52 (Phila.,1879).

[2] As to this, see John Armstrong's letter on page 159.

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erected by Chief Nettawatwees (New Comer) and his band of Delawares upon their removal from Gekelemukpechunk (New Comer's Town, built before 1762) in 1775. The Delawares gave to their new town the name of Goschachgunk, a corruption, evidently, of the Huron name for the former Wyandot Town of Conchake, both of which names are preserved in the present form—Coshocton. Hutchins's map (1764), accompanying his and Smith's account of Bouquet's expedition, shows a Delaware Town, it is true, below the Forks of Muskingum before 1764; but it was some distance below, and not identical with the Goschachgunk of the Delawares. In the marginal map of Bouquet's route, Hutchins gives the name of this former place as Bullet's Town.

When Christopher Gist reached Conchake, December 14, 1750, he wrote in his *Journal:* "Set out W 5 m. to Muskingum, a town of the Wyendotts. . . . The Wyendotts, or Little Mingoes, are divided between the French and English, one-half of them adhere to the first, and the other half are firmly attached to the latter. The Town of Muskingum consists of about one hundred families. When we came within sight of the Town, we perceived English colours hoisted on the King's House, and at George Croghan's [trading house]; upon enquiring the reason, I was informed that the French had lately taken several English Traders, and that Mr. Croghan had ordered all the white men to come into this Town, and had sent expresses to the Traders of the lower Towns, and among the Pickweylinees; and the Indians had sent to their people to come to Council about it . . . Monday, 17th. Came into Town two Traders belonging to Mr. Croghan, and informed us that two of his people were taken by 40 French men and twenty French Indians, who had carried them with seven horse loads of skins to a new Fort that the French were building on one of the branches of Lake Erie."

The new Fort which the French were building, as De Lery's *Journal* and sketch show, was near the north shore of Sandusky Bay. In a report on the French forts made to the Pennsylvania Council in 1754 by John Pattin, a Trader who was captured at Miami Fort by the French in November, 1750, and carried by them to Detroit and Quebec, Pattin states that, "in the year 1750 the French built a small palisadoed Fort and garrisoned it with about twenty men upon a River on the southwest side of Lake Erie."

Croghan's two men, who were captured by the French and carried to Sandusky Fort, were Joseph Faulkner and Luke Erwin. A third Trader was also taken in the same locality, named Thomas Burk. La Jonquiere, Governor of Canada, in writing to Governor Clinton, of New York, about this capture (August 10, 1751), said: "Three of them were first arrested at Ayonontout [the Aniauton of De Lery; or Junundat?] the place selected in 1747, by Nicolas, the rebel Huron chief, as his strong-

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hold, near the little Lake of Otsandesket, that is to say within ten leagues of the Town of Detroit. The names of these three Englishmen are Luke Arowin, an Irishman by birth, an inhabitant of Pensilvania, Joseph Fortiner, an inhabitant of the Town of Gerge, and Thomas Borke, an inhabitant of Linguester. . . . It cannot be said that they were at Ayonontout to trade with the Indians, because they had nothing but presents to distribute among them. It is so evident that they wished to hold a council with the Indians, in every respect fatal to the French, that they encamped in a place selected by Nicolas, a Huron chief, a rebel to the French, for his stronghold. They doubtless wished to persuade the Indians to entertain the same feelings as Nicolas, and to attach the most influential to them, in order to resuscitate that chief, who is dead, and to put in execution his nefarious project."

The captured Traders had been examined before La Jonquiere in the castle of Vaudreuil at Montreal, June 15, 1751. Luke Erwin's answers were as follows:

That his name was Luke Arowin, aged 28 years; that he was a travelling Trader, an Irishman by birth, and an inhabitant of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pensilvania.

That he did not positively remember the day of his departure [from Pennsylvania], but it was in August last; that he went straitway to a village belonging to the Shawnese on the Ohio.

That he was in company with two English Traders, and six servants of the same nation; and that his design was to trade among the Indians, having for that purpose goods that suited them, which they proposed to sell soon, in order to return home laden with skins; that James Hamilton, Esq., Governor of Pennsylvania, had granted him a printed license to trade everywhere, with all friendly Indians in general, for which he had paid the Governor the sum of fifty shillings, &c.

That he had sold his goods to those Indians who are settled on the Ohio, Rock River, and wherever he could see them, and that he had sold them very cheap, in exchange for their skins; but that he had never undervalued the French goods; but the Indians themselves made a vast difference between them.

That he had carried wampum, hatchets, and rum, in order to trade with those Indians, but that from or by order of the Governor he had never carried them either messages or anything else; that the Governor employed for that purpose one George Croghan, a Trader, whom he sent with all his messages to those Indians, and who had continually a native of Canada with him, named Andrew Montour (as he had been informed), who understood the Indian language perfectly well; that he could not tell whether the said Croghan was then at that time among those Indians, but he knew he had orders to depart soon after him, in quality of an express to the Miamis Indians, and to several other nations, and that for the following reason, to-wit.: the Miamis Indians aforesaid, came last spring to pay said Croghan a visit at Veskak, or Oghwick (where he and sixteen other Traders are settled) to intreat him to receive them; where-

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The South Shore of Sandusky Bay, from the Mouth of Pickerel Creek.
(1) Looking east. (2) Looking west.

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upon the said Montour went to those Indians, to assure them, in the name of the said Governor, that the English would receive them well; but he could not tell if the Governor had given orders to stir up those nations to destroy the French, for the Miamis Indians were not arrived at Philadelphia when he left it, and nothing had transpired; he acknowledged that he could speak Shawanese and several other Indian languages, but the Governor had never made choice of him as an express to the Indians.

That he had heard of M. de Celoron's expedition to the Ohio [in 1749], and of the injunction he had laid upon the English Traders, and of the letter he wrote to the Governor of Pennsylvania; but he thought that the license he had from the Governor was sufficient to indemnify him, without regarding any orders to the contrary.

Joseph Faulkner was then examined by Governor La Jonquiere, and gave his answers as follows:

That his name was Joseph Fortiner, aged twenty-six years, an hired servant, a traveller, born in the Jerseys, a place belonging to the Province of New York.

That he had been four years absent from the Jerseys, and lived the most part of that time in the Woods, but in the winter he commonly retired to a village in the Province of Pennsylvania, called Scanaris; that he had traded with the Shawanese at the Ohio, and wherever he could see any Indians.

That he set out with Michael Teaf on purpose to trade with the Indians; that he was hired to the said Teaf, in order to help him with his horses and goods; that himself and the other Englishmen who were taken had burnt their invoice, and that consequently they could not tell as to the value of what goods he had; that they had been bought from the same person Luke Arowin had bought his [George Croghan?]; that he had a license from the Governor of Pennsylvania, but had left it in his cabin at an Indian Town called by the English, Vendack, adjoining the Shawanese.

That he had sold his goods to those nations settled on the Ohio and adjacent parts; that he had never despised the French goods, but the Indians themselves had told him that they rather choose to trade with the English, knowing their goods to be better and cheaper than those which the French sold them; that he had traded with those Indians only four years, as aforesaid.

That in the year 1749, he was at the Susquehanna, in the Province of Pennsylvania, where he had heard that M. de Celoron was at the Ohio; but further said not.

The third Trader was then examined, whose story was as follows:

That his name was Thomas Burk, aged twenty-three, a traveller, a native of Cork, in Ireland, and now an inhabitant of Lancaster, in the Province of Pennsylvania.

That he had left Ireland almost eight years; that it was scarce ten months since he left the Susquehanna; that he was hired by John Martin,

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an Englishman, who traded at the Ohio; that he set out with two other hired servants, in order to trade near Otsandosket, and from thence intended to return to Lancaster.

That he had no other company with him than the two aforesaid Englishmen; that his effects, including his horses, might be valued at fifteen hundred livres [francs], but he had left them all at a small river, about two leagues from where the Rev. Father de la Richardie had wintered, in the care of two Englishmen, who, as soon as they had heard that warrants were issued out to take them, had left all and fled; that the aforesaid goods were the property of the said Martin, he having bought them of two different merchants of Philadelphia; the name of one, he remembered, was Shippen; that he had a license from the Governor of Pennsylvania, but had left it at said river with his effects.

That he had heard of M. de Celoron being at the Ohio, as also of the letter he had written to the Governor of Pennsylvania; that it was entrusted to the hired servants belonging to George Croghan, the chief interpreter; but he could not tell if it had ever been delivered.

George Croghan's Trading House, which stood at Conchake, was afterwards (about 1753 or 1754) seized by the French, according to Darlington, and the goods stored therein were confiscated. In the original manuscript account of losses suffered by George Croghan & Co., in 1754 and 1755, dated at Carlisle, April 24, 1756, appears the item: "one store-house at Muskingum, £150."

In volume 1. of the Thomas Hutchins's Manuscripts, preserved in the Library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, is the following account of the Land Trails and Water Routes from Fort Pitt to the Ohio Indian towns, which has been kindly furnished to the writer by the Librarian of that Society, Mr. John W. Jordan. This account, which was prepared by Lieutenant Hutchins himself, is a most valuable one. It reads as follows:

"*A Description of part of the Country Westward of the River Ohio, with the Distances Computed from Fort Pitt to the several Indian Towns by Land & Water:—*

"From Fort Pitt to big Beaver Creek by Land, is 28 Miles; the Path is mostly along the Riverside, and crosses a Number of small Ridges that Border on the River.

"Little Beaver Creek is 16 Miles further; for the first two Miles, the Woods is very Levell, at the End of which is a Run [Two Mile Run] and A very Steep & Difficult Ridge, which may be Avoided by inclining about half A Mile to the Right of the Path; the Country then is made up of small broken Hills, all the way to Little Beaver Creek, the Descent to which is steep.

"This Creek is 60 yards wide and has A very good Fording. After

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crossing it [the North Fork], there is A very steep Ascent to the top of A Ridge, which the path continues on for some Miles, and then takes over many Little Hills till it reaches another Creek [Middle Fork of Little Beaver] 12 [?] Miles from the preceding one. This Creek is 70 yards wide, has A good Fording and Runs through level Land that has Abundance of underwood & thickets.

"12 [?] Miles further is Yellow Creek [probably not the present Yellow Creek, which flows into the Ohio below the mouth of the Little Beaver; but apparently the stream now called the West Fork of Little Beaver Creek. Both it and the present Yellow Creek head in Franklin Township, Columbiana County], 60 yards wide; for the first Seven Miles the Country is Level & pretty, free from Underwood; the other 5 Miles is much broken with small Hills.

"About three Quarters of A Mile from [north of] Yellow Creek, the Path forks. The Right hand Crosses Yellow Creek and leads to Tuscarawas, about 70 Miles further; And the Left hand Path crosses the Creek lower down and Leads to the Delaware Towns on Muskingum River.

"After passing the [Yellow] Creek the Muskingum [or lower] path continues for 9 Miles on A Ridge, which has then an easy descent to A large Run, where, after Ascending A Steep Hill and traversing A number of little Hills for 6 Miles further, the Path reaches A Creek 8 yards wide; two Miles on this side of the Creek is an Easy descent to an Extensive, Shrubby bottom, which continues to the Creek.

"About 8 Miles further is another Creek, near the same width of the former one, the first 5 Miles to which is Along A Ridge, the other 3 Miles over Swampy Ground, full of Thickets.

"4 Miles further is Another small Creek, about 10 yards wide; the first two Miles, over Level, Shrubby, Swampy Land; the path then Crosses the end of A small Ridge into A Draught between two low Hills and Continues to the Creek.

"12 Miles Further, after Crossing A number of small Ridges, is Another Creek, 12 yards wide;

"Then the path takes over broken Land for 7 Miles, to A Creek 30 yards wide, with A Stony Ford.

"10 Miles further is Another Creek, 70 yards wide [Will's Creek?], the Descent to which is Steep. Most part of the way between these Creeks is A number of little Hills.

"Then 7 Miles further, over several small Ridges, the Path leads to the same Creek, at which is A good Ford.

"13 Miles further is Bullet's Town, or *Mow-hey-sinck*, on Muskingum River[1] [two or three miles below what is now Coshocton]. For the

[1] Either the distances or streams are not correctly given in this Route. The largest creek between Sandy Creek and the Muskingum on the south side is the Big Stillwater.

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first 5 Miles the Land is Level to A Savannah; the rest of the way is in some places broken with small Hills.

"Mowheysinck Town is Situate about 100 yards from the River, on this side, and has upwards of 35 Persons in it, 15 of which are Warriors. Their Cornfields are better than half A Mile below the Town, close on the Opposite side of the River. From the nearest part of the Ohio River to this Town is about 100 Miles.

"5 Miles from Mowheysinck, down the River on this side, is Black Tom's Town. The path between these Towns is through A Level, Rich Bottom, free from Hills or Creeks. Tom's Town has 8 or 10 Houses in it, And consists of about 8 Warriors and 15 or 16 women & Children; their Cornfields Are close by the Town. The shortest distance from this Town to the Ohio is 100 Miles.

"About 200 yards above the Town the River is Fordable, after crossing of which the Country is very open & mostly Barrens for 8 Miles, to *Waukautaumeka* Town [on or near the site of the present Dresden], Situate on A very high Bank, about 100 yards from the Muskingum River. There is About 40 Houses in this Town and near the same Number of warriors, and upward of 90 women & Children. Their Cornfields are near ¾ of a Mile from the Town, on the same side, up the [Wakatomika] Creek. From this Town to the Ohio River is 80 Miles.

"From Waukautaumike, the Path that leads to the Lower Shawanoe Town takes over A number of small Hills for 9 Miles, to A Creek [Wakatomika Creek?] 15 yards wide, at which is A good ford.

"6 Miles further, over broken Land, is A small Creek [a branch of Licking], the Descent to which is Steep, and A Swamp at the bottom of the Descent.

"The path then leads through Level, Rich Land for 3 Miles, to Licking Creek, 30 yards wide, at which is A good Ford.[1] Then through Level, wet Land, but Not Swampy, and Shrubby only in some places, 28 Miles to the Beaver's New Town, on A branch of Hockhocking River, about half A Mile above the Ford. This Town had, last Spring [1763?], about 15 Houses in it, and Consisted of thirty Warriors and near 80 women & Children; but as the Indians some distance from it purposed Moveing to it immediately, it 's very probable the Warriors there now

This enters the Tuscarawas some thirty-five to forty miles above its mouth (which is four or five miles above the site of Bullet's Town). From Little Beaver Creek, the Lower Trail passed southwest diagonally across the present Carroll County, crossing Connotton, or One Leg Creek in that county; thence, in the same direction, to near the northwest corner of Harrison County, across the southeastern part of Tuscarawas County, crossing Little and Big Stillwater [Three Legs] creeks; thence into the southeastern part of Coshocton County possibly crossing Will's Creek twice before reaching the Muskingum.

[1] At the present Clay Lick post-office, Licking County.

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are more Numerous than they were then. Their Houses are close to each other, and their Cornfields are between the Town and the Path.

"From the Beaver's Town, the Path takes over level Land, and in some places Shrubby, 15 Miles, to A Creek 10 yards wide, then, through Level Land and, for 50 Miles [the distance was much less], to the Lower Shawanoe Town. This Town is Situate in A very large Savannah [the Pickaway Plains]; part of the Town is on the [east] Bank of the Sioto River and part about A Mile from it, but Opposite sides [on and opposite the site of Westfall, Wayne Township, Pickaway County]. Near 80 Houses Compose these Towns, and Consist of 130 Warriors and 200 women & Children. Their Cornfields are in Sight of the Towns. There is A Ford opposite the Town nearest the River. From this Place to the Ohio is 100 Miles.

"Now, set out from Waukautaumeke again, & proceed 12 Miles through A Level Country down the [Muskingum] River side to a small Delaware Town, the path to which in some places touches near A few Ridges which Are not Steep or Difficult. This Town is Situate in A fork where A Creek [Licking Creek?] Empties into the Muskingum, and has 8 Houses in it, and about 12 Warriors and 30 women & Children. Their Cornfields are close to the Town. Muskingum & the Creek that Runs into it are both Fordable here. From this Place to the Ohio is 70 Miles.

"The Path continues down the Muskingum through level Land for 3 Miles to the Mouth of A Creek [Moxahala ?], then up the Creek 3 Miles further to A Small Town of 7 Houses, 15 Warriors, and upwards of 20 women & Children. Their Cornfields are on the Opposite side of the Creek, which has A good Ford [at mouth of Shawnee Run?], about 15 yards wide. This Town is about 60 or 70 Miles from the Ohio.

"After Crossing the Creek, the Path leads through level Land, 3 Miles, to A fording at Muskingum; for 2 Miles of the way the Path is Commanded on the Right by A very high, Steep Ridge. The Ford is 200 yards wide, with a good Bottom. The Path still Continues through level Land, free from underwood, 3 Miles, to Will's Town, *Se-key-unck*, or the Salt Licks [now Duncan's Falls], 50 Miles from the Ohio. Will's Town has 35 Houses in it and About 45 Warriors, & 80 Women & Children. The Houses are close together, and their Cornfields in sight of the Town. The Muskingum is not Fordable opposite the Town.

"The Path, then Leading to the Crow's Town,[1] takes over several little Ridges for 6 Miles to A Creek 8 yards wide.

"21 Miles further, through A very Shrubby Country, is A small Delaware Town, at a Creek [Will's Creek, near Cambridge], 30 yards

[1] See map of the Path from Will's Town to Mingo Town on the Ohio (Crow's Town) in Winsor's *Mississippi Basin*, p. 247.

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wide. There is about a Dozen Houses, 20 Warriors, and 30 women & Children;

"About 75 Miles further[1] is the Crow's Town on the Ohio River, which is now Evacuated.

"The Indians have not any Forts at the aforementioned Towns.

"From Fort Pitt by Water to big Beaver Creek is 30 Miles; the Current is gentle. 3 Miles below the Fort is an Island [Brunot's] & a Creek [Chartier's], on the Left. 9 Miles further is Another Creek [Montour's?] on the Left; then 15 Miles further, to A Creek [Elkhorn Run], on the Left, 3 Miles above Beaver Creek. Most part of the way A Number of Short Hills border on each side of the River.

"Then 7 Miles lower down is A small Creek [Raccoon Creek], on the Left.

"About 11 Miles further, to little Beaver Creek, on the Right.

"28 [11] Miles further is Yellow Creek[2] on the Right.

"Then 25 Miles to the Crow's Town on the Right [now Mingo, Jefferson County, Ohio], at which A Creek empties into the Ohio, and Another on the Left, almost opposite each other [the two Cross creeks].

"From big Beaver Creek to this Town is A number of Hills & Ridges on both sides of the River, but none of them so close but Loaded Horses may pass between them & the water, or with some Difficulty March over them. There is also on the Right hand side of the River A small Path which has been so little frequented of late that it 's Scarce perceivable in some places.

"8 Miles below the Crow's Town, on the Left hand side, is A Creek [Buffalo Creek?], 8 yards wide.

"9 Miles further to Button Wood Creek [Short Creek], on the Right, 12 yards wide.

"Then 8 Miles, to A Creek on the Left, 16 yards wide, and Another on the Right [the two Wheeling creeks], 12 yards wide.

"12 Miles further, A Creek [Pipe Creek] on the Left, 16 yards over.

"Then 6 Miles, to A Creek on the Right, near 100 yards wide, called Captain's [now Captina] Creek.

"30 [7] Miles further, to *Paugh-chase-wey's*, or Sun Fish Creek [still so called] on the Right, 16 yards wide,

"Then 7 Miles, to the upper end of A large Bent, which continues in the form of A Horseshoe 7 Miles further. This Bent is in the narrowest

[1] The present road from Cambridge to Steubenville, through Cadiz, follows in part the course of this path.

[2] This statement, if it was Hutchins's, indicates no confusion of Yellow Creek as at present known, with the West Fork of Little Beaver; which latter seems to have been the stream called Yellow Creek in the preceding itinerary.

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place 3 Miles A cross by Land; At the beginning of this Bent is a Very high, steep Hill, close on the Left of the River; but on the Right hand side the Land is Level some distance from the Water [this is a description of the Great Bend, one hundred miles below Sunfish Creek.]

"Then, 9 Miles below the Bent is A very large Creek [Fishing Creek, ten miles below Sunfish?] on the Left,

"9 Miles further is Another [Middle Island Creek is twenty-six miles below Fishing Creek] on the same side, 8 yards wide.

"It is 88 Miles from this Creek [seventeen miles from Middle Island Creek] to the next [Little Muskingum, fifty-two miles below Sunfish Creek] which is on the Right hand side of the River, about 6 Miles above the Mouth of the Muskingum, which comes in on the same side.

"There is between the Crow's Town & the Mouth of Muskingum on both sides of the Ohio, in several places, many fine pieces of Bottom Land and A great Number of Hills & Ridges, some of which are pretty high, but none of them so near as to prevent loaded Horses passing by the River side, except in time of a Fresh, And then they may be Avoided by going some small distance from the River.

"8 Miles below Muskingum, on the Left, is *Lacomie*, or Sandy Creek [Little Kanawha, twelve miles below Muskingum; the present Sandy Creek is 45 miles below Muskingum], 30 yards over.

"2 Miles further is A Creek on the same side, 12 yards over,

"Then 35 Miles, to Hockhocking River on the Right, This River is Navigable for Canoes about 80 Miles. Between Muskingum & this River the Country is very much broken with small Hills.

"Then about 8 Miles down the Ohio to little Hockhocking [Little Hocking is six miles *above* the Big Hocking], on the Right, 100 yards wide, Navigable 30 Miles up.

"12 Miles further down the Ohio is A Creek on the Left, 10 yards wide.

"8 Miles further, to A Creek on the same side, 10 yards wide.

"Then about 4 Miles, to the beginning of Another big Bent [at Old Town Creek, just below the Horse Shoe Bend], which is about 10 Miles round to the End of the Bent; from which, to the Mouth of Sioto on the Right of the Ohio, is 12 Miles [113 miles].

"This River [the Scioto] is not Navigable when the waters are Low, And with great Difficulty when they are high. The Country hereabouts is much freer from Hills & Broken Land than near Muskingum or Hockhocking.[1]

[1] This description of the Ohio River Route is full of errors, both as to locations and distances. The Horse Shoe Bend of the Ohio is here located more than a hundred miles above the Muskingum, while it is really forty-eight miles below. The Little Hocking is placed below the Big Hocking, instead of above. No mention is made of the Kanawha

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"Now, Return to Muskingum and Proceed up that River, which is seldom Navigable with Loaded Canoes but in time of a Fresh, And then Scarce further than to the white Womans Creek, 120 Miles.

"About 30 Miles up Muskingum [from its mouth] is A Creek on the left [Wolf Creek], 15 yards wide.

"At 3 Miles further on the same side is another Creek, 12 yards wide.

"Then 20 Miles, to the Canoe place [Big Rock at Roxbury, in what is now Morgan County?], on the Left of the River, where the Traders formerly Landed their Goods for the Lower Shawanoe Town.

"From the mouth of Muskingum to this place the Country is in several places Hilly, but many of them are more than Gunshott from the River and none of them so near but Loaded Horses may pass Between them & the water. The Right hand Shore is the best for Horses, as the Hills are Scarcest on that side, The Stream is pretty Gentle to A Rift, about 43 Miles from the Mouth [Luke's Chute?].

"8 Miles further up [above the Canoe Place] is Another Rift [Silver Heels Riffle at Stockport?]. After that, the Current is something stronger. There is, about 100 yards below Will's Town, A Ledge of Rocks A Cross the River [Duncan's Falls] which Occasions the Water to Run very Rapid and shallow over them. 5 Miles above the Town there is much such another place.

"Now, to Return to the Landing or Canoe place & proceed for the Lower Shawanoes Town by Land.

"15 Miles from the Canoe place is A Shelving Rock, under which Neal McCollen, a Delaware Indian, Built a Cabbin.

"20 Miles further is Hockhocking River, 100 yards over and A good Fording.

River. The distance from Fort Pitt to Muskingum is given as 300 miles, instead of 174; and from the Muskingum to Scioto, as 99 miles, instead of 176.

The "Rout Down the Ohio," published as an appendix to Hutchins's and Smith's *Account of Bouquet's Expedition* (Phila., 1765), gives the following distances and landmarks on the River: "From Fort Pitt to the mouth of Big Beaver Creek, 27 miles; to the mouth of Little Beaver Creek, 12; to the mouth of Yellow Creek, 10; to the Two [Cross] Creeks, 18; to Wheeling, 6; to Pipe Hill, 12; to the Long Reach, 30; to the foot of the Reach, 18; to the mouth of Muskingum River, 30; to the Little Canawha River, 12; to the mouth of Hockhocking River, 13; to the mouth of Le Tort's Creek, 40; to Kiskeminetas, 33; to the mouth of Big Canawha, or New River, 8; to the mouth of Big Sandy Creek, 40; to the mouth of Sioto, 40." Total, 349 miles.

The following distances are given in Cumming's *Western Pilot* (Cincinnati, 1834): From Pittsburgh to Big Beaver, 28½ miles; to Little Beaver, 14½; to Yellow Creek, 11; to Mingo Island, 19¾; to Captina Creek, 38¾; to Sunfish Creek, 5½; to Muskingum River, 56; to Big Hockhocking, 25; to Great [Horse Shoe] Bend, 24½; to Great Kanawha, 38; to Scioto, 89; total, 350½ miles.

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"10 Miles further, to a Branch of the same River, 10 yards wide.

"Then 35 Miles, to the Lower Shawanoe Town.

"The Country all the way from the Canoe place is well watered and free from large hills or Swamps.

"From the Lower Shawanoe Town to the Salt Lick Town [on the west bank of the Scioto, near Columbus, and about opposite the Ohio Penitentiary], up Sioto, is 25 Miles; The Path takes Along the River through several Savannahs and A Rich Level Country. This Town is about 60 Miles from Waukautaumike.

"Now, from the Lower Shawanoe Town again [on the east side of Scioto[1]], Along the Path that Leads to Sandusky, through Level Land, Swampy, & Shrubby in some places, 8 Miles, to A Branch of Sioto River [Little Walnut Creek?], 12 yards wide, at which is A good Fording.

"5 Miles further is Another Branch of Sioto [Black Lick Creek?], 12 yards wide, & A good Fording place.

"Between these two Creeks is Abundance of underwood & wet ground but not very Swampy. Then 9 Miles, to A Savannah, better than A Mile wide. Most part of the way to the Savannah is Shrubby, and all the way very Level.

"20 Miles further through Level, wet, low ground, but not Swampy, to Another Savannah, A Mile wide & 5 long.

"Then 20 Miles, to A Creek 20 yards wide, This Creek has A good Ford and Runs into the White Woman's Creek; the Country very shrubby.

"9 Miles further, over little, short Hills, through Timbered Land, to A very steep Descent, leading to a Creek, 17 yards wide, the Main Branch [Owl Creek, in the present Morrow County?] of White Woman's Creek; here is A good Fording.

"Then 5 Miles, through Timbered Land and over short, small Hills, to the partings of the Road.

"The Right hand Path leads over A Number of small Hills, 17 Miles, to the Owl's Town.[2] 9 Miles from the partings of the Road, this path crosses A Creek, 10 yards wide, which has a good Fording.

"Now, Return to the Partings of the Road and follow the Left Hand Path, which takes over Timbered Land & small Hills, 15 miles, to A Branch of White Woman's Creek [one of the branches of Black Fork of Mohican?], 8 yards wide.

[1] Hutchins's map of 1778 shows the path from Scioto to Sandusky as on the west side of the Scioto; but apparently this is a description of a path on the east side.

[2] Hutchins's map of 1764 shows Owl's Town to have been located between the forks of Owl Creek and White Woman's River. This point is within the present township of Newcastle, Coshocton County, Ohio.

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"Then, through Timbered, level Land, in general very level, and Shrubby in some places, 45 Miles, to Sandusky.

"From Sandusky, the Path leads through several very Extensive Savannahs and A Rich level Country, well watered and Timbered, 110 Miles to Tuscarawas.

"A little below this place the Muskingum forks.

"After Crossing the Ford at Tuscarawas to the East side of the Creek, the Path leading to Cayahoga takes up a branch of Tuscarawas [the main branch], 5 Miles, to where the Path crosses the Creek, about 17 yards wide [probably near the present Navarre].

"Then over Timbered Land, Swampy in some places, but not Hilly, 16 Miles, to the same Creek, 8 yards wide.

"After crossing of which the Path takes up the Creek about 7 Miles, to where the same Creek Runs out of a Lake [Long Lake], 3 Miles broad and about 4 in Length.

"Then, 5 Miles, through Swampy Grounds by the End of this Lake, to another Lake [Summit Lake], on the same side of the Path, near A Mile from the former one, which Conveys itself by A Creek 10 yards wide into Cayahoga River.

"From this Lake to Cayahoga Town is 18 Miles, the Path mostly Along the Creek, through level Timbered Land free from Swamps. At the Town the [Cuyahoga] Creek is 17 yards wide.

"After crossing the Creek, the Path Leads [eastward] through level Timbered land, 11 Miles, to a Branch of Cayahoga [the Main Branch] 10 yards wide, at which [probably at Kent] is A good Fording.

"Then, through Swampy Land, for 9 Miles, to A Swamp, two Miles over. This Swamp, the French, sometime ago, Bridged, by laying Logs A Cross the Path; but it is now much out of Repair.

"After Crossing the Swamp, the Path leads [south of Ravenna] by A Savannah on the Left hand and continues for 5 Miles through Thickets, but not Mirey; then [through the present townships of Edinburg, Palmyra, and Paris, Portage County] Along level, Timbered Land, 15 Miles, to Mohoning Town on [the west side of Mahoning Branch of] Beaver Creek [probably at or above the site of the present Newton Falls].

"Half a mile below this Town, the Path crosses Beaver Creek at a good Ford, 8 yards wide. The path then leaves the Creek on the Left hand and takes through Low, wet, Swampy Land [across Newton, Lordstown, and Weathersfield townships, Trumbull County] for 9 Miles, to the Salt Lick Town, situate on the west [south] side of the same Creek [about a mile southwest of Niles].

"After crossing the Creek, which is 15 yards over at this Town, the Path to Shaningo takes through Timbered Land, about 4 Miles, to a

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Branch [Squaw Creek] of the same Creek, 8 yards wide, at which is a Mirey ford.

"15 Miles further, through low Land, Timbered with Beach, is Shaningo Town [below Sharon], on Another [Shenango] branch of Beaver Creek 15 yards wide.

"After crossing the Creek at a good Ford the Path leads through level Land, 6 Miles, to the partings of the Venango Road.

"The left Hand Path goes about 3 Miles to Pemeytuning [at or near the mouth of Pymatuning Creek], situate on the same Creek: After crossing of which, takes through level Land, well Timbered, 8 miles, to the same [Shenango] Creek again, 8 yards wide; here is a good Ford and A Number of Indian Graves.

"Then 9 Miles, along Level, Shrubby Land, to A large Run [Otter Creek], 5 yards wide, very Swampy.

"8 Miles further, through wet Land & Swampy in some places, to A Lake on the Right [Sandy Lake, in Mercer County], two Miles Long and half a Mile wide, the Head of Sandy Creek.

"Then 2½ Miles Along A Ridge, to the Crossing of Sandy Creek, 8 yards over.

"Two Miles further, down the Creek and Ascend A steep Hill, The Path then is over short Ridges, 14 Miles, to Venango.

"Now, return to the Salt Lick Town on [Mahoning Branch of] Beaver Creek, The Path then to the Kishkushes [now Edenburg, Lawrence County] crosses the Creek 2½ Miles below the Town, at A good ford, 10 yards wide.

"6 Miles further, through level Timbered Land [back] to the Main branch of Beaver [Mahoning] Creek 18 yards over, A good Fording with A steep Descent to it.

"The Path then takes down the Creek [west side], 7 Miles, along level, Rich Land, free from Swamps or Thickets, to A large Savannah, two Miles long and half a Mile wide.

"14 Miles further is the Kishkuskee Town on the [west] Bank of Beaver Creek, [Mahoning Branch]. This Town is 12 Miles from Shaningo, and the Country is made up with little Hills of Timbered Land.

"From the Kishkuske to the Mouth of Beaver Creek the path takes down the Creek Along A Bottom 2 Miles, then Ascend A pretty large Hill & proceed Along A Ridge 5 Miles to the Creek again at an Old Town [near Newport].

"Then the Path leaves the Creek and goes over Timbered Land and short Ridges, 7 Miles, to A Steep Hill, which the Path ascends after crossing A large Run,

"Then Along Timbered Land at about a Mile's Distance from the Creek, 14 Miles.

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"Then Ascend A very Steep Hill and Continue on it about 2 Miles to A Steep descent, which is about ¾ of A Mile from the mouth of Beaver Creek, to which the Land is level."

The following is Thomas Hutchins's description of "The Rout from Fort Pitt to Sandusky, and thence to Detroit," which was written by him in 1764 and revised and added to after 1778. The manuscript of this account is in the Library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. Some few paragraphs of the original description of the road near Beaver Creek were used by Dr. William Smith in preparing the *Account of Bouquet's Expedition:*

"Fort Pitt, which is 320 Miles by the Road and nearly due west from the city of Philadelphia, stands at the fork of the Allegheny and Monaungahela rivers, and their united streams form the river Ohio. For about three and a half miles, after crossing the Allegheny River, the road goes over rich, level land, with stately timber, to the Ohio, at the beginning of the Narrows, and from thence it follows the course of the river along a flat, gravelly beach, about six miles and a quarter, with two Islands on the left, the lower most [now Neville's Island] about six miles long, and a rising ground the whole distance on the right forming a defile.

"At the lower end of this Island, the road leaves the river and inclines northerly through good land, broken with small hollows, to Loggs Town, situated seventeen miles and a half and 57 perches by the path from fort Pitt. This place was noted before the War of 1758 for the great trade carried on there by the English and French; but its inhabitants, the Shawanoes and Delawares abandoned it in the year 1750 [1758]. The lower town extended about 60 perches over a rich bottom to the foot of a low, steep ridge, on the summit of which, near the declevity, stood the upper town, commanding a most agreeable prospect, over the lower, and quite a cross the Ohio, which is about five hundred yards wide here, and, by its majestic, easy current, adds much to the beauty of the place.

"The road proceeds beyond Logstown at a small distance from the river and in some parts in sight of it, through a fine country, interspersed with hills and rich valleys, watered by many rivulets and covered with stately timber, to Big beaver creek, 25 miles and a half and 56 perches from fort Pitt, and 8 miles from Loggstown.

"This creek is twenty perches wide, the ford stony and pretty deep. It runs through a rich vale, with a tolerable strong current, its banks high, the upland adjoining it very good, the timber tall and young.

"About a mile below its confluence with the Ohio stood formerly a large town, on a high steep bank, built by the French, of square loggs,

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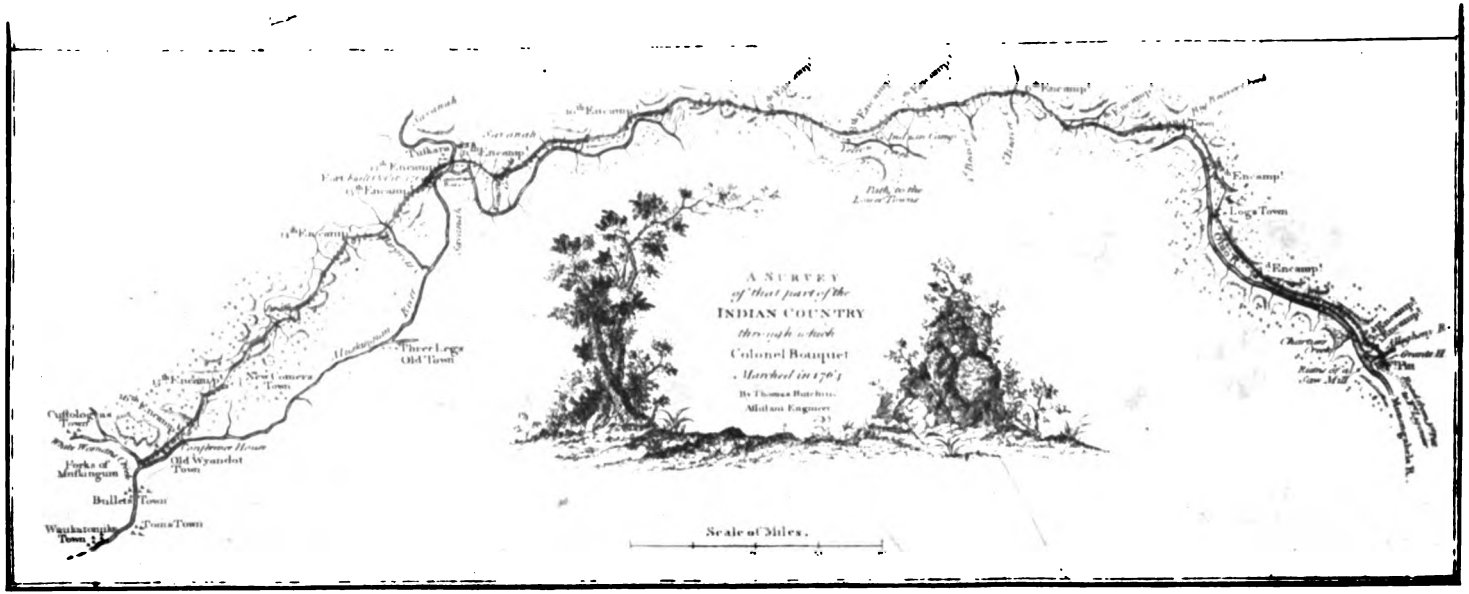

Thomas Hutchins's 1764 Map of the Ohio Country.

From the copy in the Library of Congress.

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with stone chimneys, for some of the Shawanoe, Delaware, and Mingo tribes, who abandoned it in the year 1758, when the French deserted fort Duquesne. Fort McIntoush [built] in October, 1778] is situated on this spot.

"Near the fording of Beaver Creek also stood several houses, which were deserted and destroyed by the Indians after their defeat at Bushy Run in 1763, when they forsook all their remaining settlements in this part of the country.

"The road from Big beaver creek goes through a country interspersed with hills, rivulets, and rich vallies. Some of the hills are lofty, and afford a prospect over an extensive country, which in general have a pretty level appearance, with abundance of tall timber, to Little beaver creek [North Fork], fifteen miles three-quarters and twenty-five perches; and is 8 perches wide, with a good ford.

"At six miles and 56 perches further is the third [second: Middle Fork] branch of beaver creek.

"And at six miles three-quarters and 47 perches from thence is the Parting of the Road,[1] where the path divides into two branches; that to the south west leading to the lower towns on the Muskingum. In the fork of the path stand several trees, painted by the Indians in a hieroglyphick manner, denoting the number of wars in which they have been engaged and the particulars of their success in prisoners and scalps.

"From the partings of the road to Yellow creek[2] [at the crossing of the Upper Path, near the northwest corner of Wayne Township] is 4 miles and 27 perches. The path crosses the creek at a good ford, 50 feet wide; and between the ford and this crossing, the country is very brushy and full of underwood, with some mirey spots, though rich and fertile. Yellow creek is close on the left for near a mile before the path crosses it.

"The path continues through an alternate succession of small hills, and rich vales, finely watered with rivulets, 16 miles a half and 20 perches, to a branch [Big Sandy Creek] of Muskingum river, about 50 feet wide. Here the country is the same as described above, with a good deal of Free stone.

"After crossing this Branch, the path goes through much fine land, watered with small rivers and springs; proceeding likewise through several Savanahs or cleared spots, which are by nature extremely beautiful; the second which the path passes over being in particular one continued plain of near two miles, with a fine rising ground, forming a semicircle round the right hand side and the above mentioned branch, which is a pleasant stream of water, about a quarter of a mile distant on the left, to Nemenshehelas creek, which is 13 miles a ¼ and 60 perches from where

[1] Near the northeast corner of Wayne Township, Columbiana County.

[2] West Fork of Little Beaver.

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the path crosses the [Sandy Creek] branch already mentioned. Nemenshehelas creek is about 50 feet wide at the ford, which is a little above where it empties itself into the aforesaid branch of Muskingum. Here there is a pleasant prospect over a large plain for near two miles on the left.

"Between two and three miles further the path crosses another small branch or rivulet [Limestone Creek], about 50 perches above where it empties itself into the said branch of Muskingum. Here, a steep ridge on the right and the creek close on the left forms a narrow defile, about 70 perches long. The path continues from hence over a very rich bottom to the main branch of Muskingum about 70 yards wide, with a good ford, four miles from Nemenshehelas creek and 94 miles a half and 64 perches from fort Pitt.

"A little below [the fording place] and above the forks of this river, [north of Sandy Creek], about a quarter of a mile from the ford, is Tuscarawas, a place exceedingly beautiful by situation, the lands rich on both sides of the river; the country on the N.W. side being one entire, level plain, upwards of five miles in circumference. From the ruined houses appearing here [in 1764], the Indians who inhabited the place, and are now with the Delawares, are supposed to have had about one hundred and fifty warriors.

"Three paths branch out from Tuscarawas; the southermost leads to the Indian towns on the Muskingum and Sioto rivers and to the forks of the Muskingum, where General Bouquet had his sixteenth and last encampment, when he marched against the Ohio Indians in 1764, and where he redeemed from them upwards of 200 white persons who were prisoners amongst them, and also obliged them to give hostages for the punctual performance of their engagements with him.

"This encampment is 35 miles ¾ and 53 perches southwesterly from Tuscarawas, and 130 miles a ½ and 17 perches by the path from Fort Pitt.

"The Shawanoes Town on Sioto river is about eighty miles from this spot, which is besides surrounded by the other Indian settlements at the distance from 7 to 20 miles.

"About two miles below Tuscarawas, on a very high bank, with the Muskingum at the foot of it, which is 100 yards wide at this place, with a fine, level country at some distance from its banks, producing stately timber, free from underwood, and plenty of food for cattle, was erected a small stockaded fort, to deposit provisions for the use of the troops on their return, and to lighten the convoy.

"The path from this place to the forks of the Muskingum leads through a fertile country, interspersed with little hills and vallies, rivulets and springs, and at five miles and 46 perches from the fort, the path

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The Site of Tuscarawas Town, or King Beaver's Town.

Looking southwest from the east side of Tuscarawas River. The mouth of Sandy Creek is just below the bend at the extreme left.

From a photograph taken in April, 1910.

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crosses a branch of the Muskingum called Margaret's creek [now Sugar Creek] about 30 feet wide, bordered with very rich land, producing a variety of timber.

"The north, or Cayahoga path, from Tuscarawas, takes through level, good land for ten miles, and about two miles further reaches a small branch of the Muskingum; the first half of this distance over level, light soil, as just mentioned, and the remaining 5 (five) miles the land is something superior in quality to that last described. From hence to the sources of Muskingum, the country is fertile, interspersed with swamps and many small Lakes.

"From this place to the Cayahogos town on the Western side of the Cayahoga river, the path crosses a number of little rises or gradual inequalities. This town is computed to be between 35 and 40 miles from Tuscarawas.

"The main branch of the Muskingum running by Tuscarawas communicates with the Ohio 172 miles below fort Pitt, and is said to be navigable quite to its source; between which and a little Lake [Summit Lake] communicating with Cayahoga river, there is a level carrying place a Mile and a half over. Just below where the stream of this Lake joins the Cayahoga, there is a fall, which occasions a portage of about 25 yards, after passing of which there is good navigation for Canoes to where this river discharges itself into Lake Erie, which is, by computation, between 60 and 70 miles eastward of the entrance into Sandusky Lake.

"The third, or middle path, leading from Tuscarawas to Sandusky, a distance of nearly one hundred miles, in general passes over a level and extremely fertile country, remarkably well watered with rivers, rivulets, brooks, and springs; and, except where extensive Savanahs or natural meadows intervene, well timbered with different kinds of oak, walnut, ash, hickory, mulberry, sassafras, etc.

"The path, within the distance of two miles from Tuscarawas, crosses the Muskingum twice; and continues over a fertile soil, composed of gradual ascents and descents, free from underwood and very pleasant, six miles and a half further, to Margaret's creek [now Sugar Creek, in the south part of Sugar Creek Township, Stark County], 15 yards wide, with a mirey bottom at the ford. The second crossing of Margaret's creek is six yards wide and distant two miles from the first.

"Five miles and a half further is a rivulet, also six yards wide, supposed to be another branch of Margaret's creek.

"It is six miles from hence to the beaver Dams, where there is a brook,[1] the stream of which, when stopped by the beavers, occasioned a pond on the left; the remains of the Dam is still visible.

[1] Probably one of the sources of the present Apple Creek in East Union township, or of Salt Creek, in Salt Creek Township, Wayne County.

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"From this place it is twenty-seven miles to the principal N.W. branch of the Muskingum [Mohican Fork], 25 yards wide at the ford near to which was situated Mohickon John's Town [in Mohican Township, Ashland County]. It consisted only of a few houses. The path takes over good land the whole of the above distance, well timbered, and watered at every two, three, and four miles, with rivulets from six to eight yards in width, easily crossed when not raised with freshes.

"The remains of a Fort built by the Ottawas [probably the same place which De Lery called the "Fugitives' Camp"], at which there is a pleasant running brook, is ten [?] miles from Mohickon John's Town.

"Four [?] miles further is the first crossing of Bald Eagle River [now Huron River]; three miles to the second; and eight miles to the third, which is 50 yards wide.

"After passing this River [six miles after], the path takes along a very rich Savanah, six miles over, to a fine spring of Lime stone water [Castalia, in Margaretta Township, Erie County]. This Savanah, in a wet season, or in the spring of the year, is in some parts covered a few inches with water, on which account it is not very agreeable to travel over it.

"The path continues from this Savanah, four miles and a half, to Junundat Town, which formerly consisted of Wyandot and Mohickon tribes; they could raise about 70 or 80 Warriors.

"From hence it is three miles and a half, over rich level land, covered with a variety of timber, to Sandusky.

"The French erected a Post here in the year 1754,[1] and abandoned it in the year 1759. This post was established, principally, with a view of keeping up the communications with Detroit, fort Dusquesne, and Presqu' Isle; and of assisting parties of Warriors residing northward of the Lake Erie, when on their way to and returning from the frontiers of the different States.

"In the year 1760, the British built a Block-house, surrounded with a Stockade, at Sandusky; but on the commencement of the Indian War in 1763, the garrison, consisting of a subaltern's command, were made prisoners, several of them put to death; and the house and stockade destroyed.

"Between 20 and 30 miles westerly from Sandusky, on a river of the same name, there was formerly an Indian town [Junqueindundeh], consisting of 100 Warriors of the Wyandot and Mohickon tribes. This town lay in the rout by land to Detroit; but the usual communication is by water, coasting it along Lake Erie.

[1] De Lery's *Journal* shows that this statement is incorrect. Hutchins probably had in mind the French Fort built in the winter of 1750–51, on the north shore of Sandusky Bay, but which was abandoned before 1754.

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"From Sandusky to the entrance of Sandusky Lake, 9 miles; to Rocky point, 9 miles; to the Riviere de portage, 33; to Cedar point, 35; to the Big Island in Detroit river, 18; and to Detroit, 9; in all, 104 miles from Sandusky [*i.e.*, from the mouth of Sandusky Bay]."

There seems to be an error in this account of the Sandusky Trail as given by Hutchins in so far as it relates to the distances between Mohickon John's Town and the first crossing of Bald Eagle Creek (one of the branches of the Huron River); and between the last crossing of Bald Eagle Creek and Junundat. Hutchins gives the first distance as fourteen miles; and the total distance between Mohickon John's Town and Junundat as thirty-five and one-half miles. This would indicate that Mohickon John's Town was at the head of the Black Fork of the Mohican River. In his map of 1778, Hutchins does locate Mohickon John's Town at the head of the Black Fork of the Mohican. In the distances on the Sandusky Route, printed as an appendix to his *Account of Bouquet's Expedition*, Hutchins gives the distance between these two towns as forty-six miles. Rogers and his Rangers, who went from Sandusky to Fort Pitt in December and January, 1760–61, and whose *Journal* is printed in this chapter, estimated the distance between Junundat and Mohickon John's Town as fifty-nine miles. George Croghan, who preceded Rogers over the same path a few days earlier, gave the distance between Junundat and Mohickon John's Town as forty-six miles. He has left the following account of the route:

"December 16, 1760. We came [from Detroit] to the Little Lake called Sandusky, which we found froze over, so as not to be passable for some days.

"The 22d. We crossed the Little Lake on the ice, which is about six miles over, to an Indian village, where we found our horses, which we sent from D'Troit. There were but five Indians at home, all the rest being gone a hunting.

"23d. We came to Chenunda [Junundat], an Indian village, six miles from Sandusky.

"24th. We started to hunt up some horses.

"25th. We came to the principal man's hunting cabin, about sixteen miles from Chenunda; level road and clear woods; several savannahs.

"26th. We came to Mohickon Village; this day we crossed several small Creeks, all branches of Muskingum; level road, pretty clear woods; about thirty miles. The Indians were all out a hunting except one family.

"27th. We halted; it rained all day.

"28th. We set off; it snowed all day; and come to another branch of Muskingum [Muddy Fork of Mohican], about nine miles, good road,

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where we stayed the 29th for a canoe to put us over, the Creek being very high.

"30th. We set off and came to another branch of Muskingum [Killbuck Creek], about eleven miles; and the 31st we felled a tree over the Creek and carryed over our baggage, and encamped about one mile up a run.

"January the 1st [1761]. We travelled about sixteen miles, clear woods and level road, to a place called the Sugar Cabins [on or near Margaret's (now Sugar) Creek].

"2d. We came about twelve miles to the Beaver's Town [Tuscarawas]."

According to the early settlers of Ashland County, Mohickon John's Town was located on the east bank of the Jerome Fork of the Mohican, near the present Jeromeville, in Mohican Township, Ashland County. Doctor Thwaites locates it near Reedsburg, Wayne County, on the Muddy Fork of the Mohican. This is several miles east of Jeromeville, and much too close to the site of Tuscarawas Town. The distance between Mohickon John's Town and Tuscarawas, as given by Hutchins, was forty-nine miles; and as given by Rogers and Croghan, forty-eight.[1] Old Town Run, which flows into Jerome Fork of the Mohican from the west about two miles below Jeromeville, seems to mark definitely the site of Mohickon John's Town. The town probably stood on the east bank of Jerome Fork opposite the mouth of that Run.

There is a second and different draft of this same route in the Hutchins Manuscript Collection of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, which gives the course of the path between the Beaver Dams, west of Tuscarawas, and Sandusky, in more detail. This fuller description reads as follows:

"The second crossing of Margaret's Creek is six yards wide, and distant 2 miles from the first. Five and three-quarter miles further is a Rivulet, also 6 yards wide, supposed to be another branch of Margaret's Creek.

"It is six miles from hence to the Beaver Dams, where there is a Brook, the stream of which, when stopped by the Beavers, occasioned a Pond on the Left. The remains of the Dam are still visible.

"Four miles further, the Path crosses a Rivulet, 6 yards wide. Three miles from this is a Rivulet 8 yards over; and at the same distance [3 miles] is another, 10 yards in width.

"Seven miles further is a Swamp and Rivulet, 8 yards wide.

"Proceeding 3 miles from the last, is a River, 15 yards across;

[1] See Hulbert's *Red Men's Roads*, p. 18; the same article in *Ohio Arch. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, viii., 376; Howe's *Ohio*, i., 255; Thwaites's *Early Western Travels*, i., 125.

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and from this last to the principal North West Branch of the Muskingum, which is 25 yards wide, and on which stands Mohickon John's Town, it is 7 miles. *This Town was always inconsiderable*, consisting only of a few houses.

"At 2 miles distance from this Town, the Path goes through a small Swamp; and 7 miles further it crossed the Muskingum Branch again, about 15 yards wide.

"The remains of a Fort, built by the Ottawas, at which there is a pleasant running Brook, is 10 miles from Mohickon John's Town.

"Four miles further is the first crossing of Bald Eagle [Huron] River; 3 miles to the second; and 8 miles to the third Crossing, which is 50 yards wide.

"After passing this River *it is 6 miles;* the Path takes along a rich Savannah, *6 miles over*, to a fine Spring [Cold Spring, at Castalia]. This Savannah, in a Wet season, or in the Spring of the year, is in some parts covered a few inches with Water, on which account it is not very agreeable travelling over it.[1]

"It is 4½ miles from this Savannah to Junundat Town, which merely consisted of Wyandot and Mohickon Tribes. They had about 70 or 80 Warriors.

"It is 3½ miles further, over very rich Land, covered with a variety of Timber, to Sandusky. The French erected a Post here in the year 1754 [1750–51], principally to keep up the communication with Detroit, Fort Duquesne, and Presquile—another Post established in the above mentioned year, on the South side of Lake Erie, 150 miles eastward of Sandusky—and to assist to prevent a surprise. . . .

"There was an Indian Town, consisting of about 100 Warriors of the Wyandot and Mohickon Tribes, situated on the Sandusky River, a few miles from where that River falls into Sandusky Lake, and between 20 and 30 westerly from Sandusky. This Town [Junqueindundeh] lies in the Rout by Land from Sandusky to Det Troit."

In the same manuscript, Hutchins writes a portion of the last paragraph in another form, as follows: "Between 20 and 30 miles westerly from Sandusky, on a River of the same name, a few miles from where that River falls into *Junundat or Sandusky* Lake, formerly stood an Indian Town, consisting of," etc.

If Hutchins's account and maps were correct, Mohickon John's Town was not located on the Jerome Fork of the Mohican at all, but some miles farther west, on the Black Fork. If this be true, then the local historians of that country since its settlement have all been mistaken, and the name, "Mohican Township," in Ashland County,

[1] Compare this paragraph with the similar paragraph in the first account on page 206.

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which was supposed to mark the site of this town, has been applied to the wrong township. Hutchins, himself, may have been mistaken.

Hutchins's map of 1764 is printed in this volume. His map of 1778 shows Killbuck's Creek, on the west bank of which he locates Killbuck's Town. He shows Mohickon John's Town on the east bank of Black Fork of Mohican, and places the Jerome Fork, Muddy Fork, and Lake Fork between the Black Fork and Killbuck's Creek.

Rogers makes the distance between the two Mohican branches of Muskingum (one of the heads of Black Fork, and Jerome Fork) twenty or twenty-one miles; while Hutchins gives it as only nine miles. One of the heads of the Black Fork is in Plymouth Township, Richland County, some three or four miles south of one of the heads of the Huron, in the same township, and about the same distance east of another head of the Huron in Auburn Township, Crawford County. To reach the divide in these townships from Mohickon John's Town, however, the path may have crossed the Black Fork twice.

In July, 1775, Captain James Wood set out from Fort Pitt to visit the Indian towns in Ohio, for the purpose of inviting their chiefs to meet Virginia's Commissioners at that place, to enter into a treaty. He left Fort Pitt on the 18th of the month, accompanied by Simon Girty, who was to act as interpreter. On the 21st, Wood and Girty arrived at one of the Moravian towns on the Tuscarawas, either Schönbrunn or Gnadenhutten; from thence they reached New Comer's Town the same night. The next day they passed through White Eyes' Town, and reached "Koshocktin" at one o'clock, where they remained until the 24th. Wood's *Journal* is printed in Thwaites and Kellogg's *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*. Under date of July 24th it proceeds:

"I then hired a man to go with me to the Seneca towns. Set off in a hard rain. Passed through a town of the Muncys [on the north bank of Walhonding, just above Killbuck Creek], and made them acquainted with my business. Kept up White Woman's Creek, crossing it six times, and Corcosan [Kokosing, *i. e.*, Owl] Creek once. Lodged at Mohickin's Old Town, now inhabited by Delawares. Travelled about 38 miles this day, the course nearly west [from Coshocton]."

From this point Wood and Girty travelled west to the Seneca Town, which Dr. Thwaites says was situated on the trail between Wapatomica and Upper Sandusky, in what is now Hardin County; thence to the Wyandot Town at Upper Sandusky; from there, up the Sandusky and down the Olentangy branch of Scioto to Pluggy's Town which stood on the site of the present Delaware, Ohio. From here they went to the Big Salt Licks Town, on the west bank of the Scioto, near Columbus (about opposite the site of the Ohio Penitentiary); and thence to the Shawnee towns on the Pickaway Plains and Deer Creek, between the present

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Circleville and Chillicothe. They started on their return August 3d, passing through White Eyes' Town, New Comer's Town, Gnadenhutten, and Logstown, and reaching Fort Pitt on the 11th.

Wood's course can be followed most readily on Crevecœur's maps,—printed in this volume.

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CHAPTER VII

JOHN FINLEY; AND KENTUCKY BEFORE BOONE

IN a letter received from Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites in March, 1902, replying to an inquiry about John Finley, the Indian Trader who piloted Daniel Boone into Kentucky by way of the Cumberland Gap in 1769, the writer was informed that "the late Dr. Lyman C. Draper was, in his day, the greatest living authority on all appertaining to Daniel Boone and the settlement of Kentucky. He gathered an immense amount of materials on the subject, which is now in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, at Madison; but as yet unindexed. He commenced writing a *Life of Boone*, but did not get very far into the subject. In this fragment, which he intended to be a ponderous work of many volumes, he goes into great detail, giving all the information he had at hand." Dr. Thwaites adds: "I enclose all that Draper gives relative to Findley (he preferred this spelling), save the details of his visiting Boone upon the Yadkin."

In the following pages is the material from the Draper manuscripts relating to John Finley to which Dr. Thwaites refers, and which he has kindly furnished. It comprises all of Chapter VI of Draper's unfinished *Life of Daniel Boone*, together with the two closing paragraphs of Chapter II, which are here inserted as a foot-note on the second page. In a subsequent letter, received from Dr. Thwaites in January, 1907, that gentleman writes as follows:

Dr. Draper's authorities for his statements concerning John Findlay (so spelled in autograph, says Draper) were the early gazettes, especially the *Maryland Gazette* (1753), Filson's *Kentucky* (1784), and personal interviews with Boone's relatives—notably one with Daniel Bryan, some time before 1851. Draper concludes from the evidence you cite—Trent's letter, April 10, 1753, and a similar remark in the *Maryland Gazette*, May 17, 1753, that the visit of Findlay to Kentucky was in the autumn of 1752, and the attack made at the same time as that upon McGinty—although Filson's date is 1767. The details, as Draper has given them, are taken from Bryan's account, who remembered, or had a tradition of, Findlay's visit to Boone on the Yadkin in 1769. The evidence is scarcely conclusive, and had a less careful student given it,

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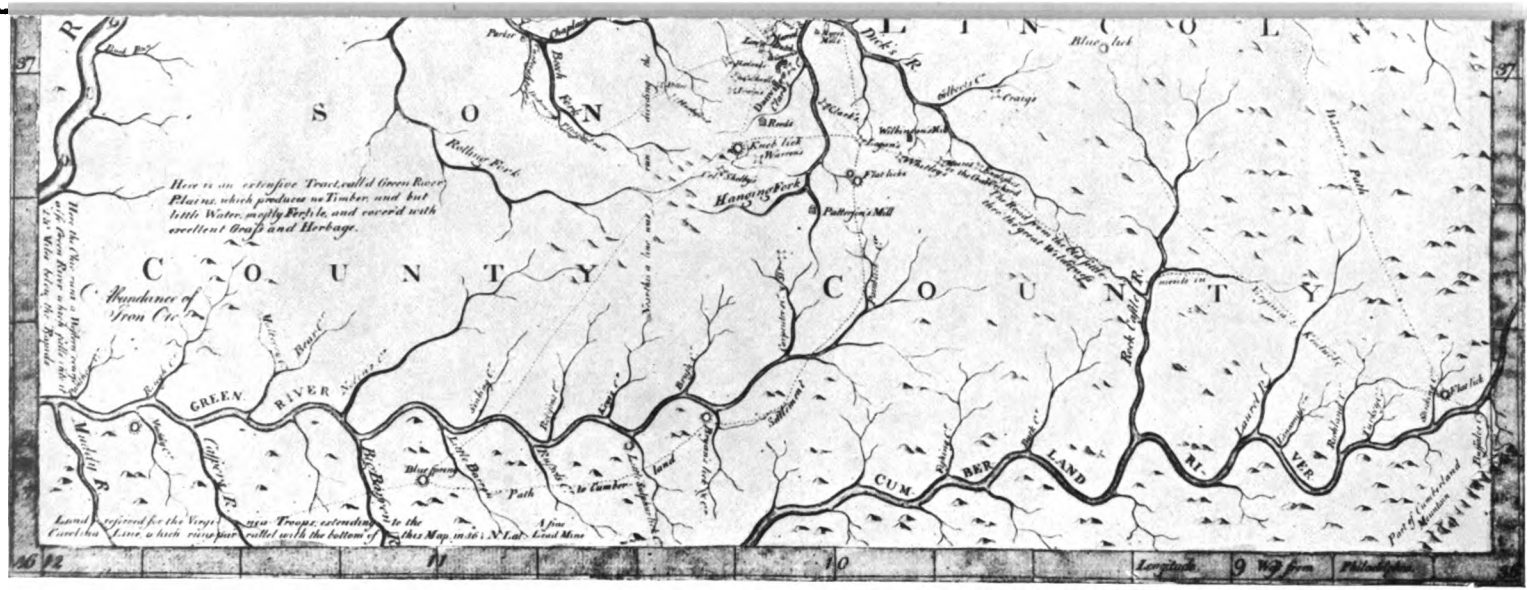

John Filson's Map of Kentucky.

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might be rejected. Draper's conclusions were, however, frequently formed from cumulative evidence, all of which is not extant, even in his notes; he was always careful in drawing conclusions, so that his account seems probable, although not positive. Draper thinks that the "Little Pict Town" was Eskippakithika, on Lulbegrud Creek of Red River of Kentucky, twenty-five miles south of Upper Blue Licks, where the Warriors' Road crossed the Licking. This town was settled (1745) by a band of Shawnee under Peter Chartier, acting in the French interests, and broken up about 1748. A few warriors either remained here or returned in the hunting season until about 1755. Authorities cited on this point: *Penn. Col. Records;* Gordon's *History of Pennsylvania;* Rupp's *History of Western Pennsylvania;* Adair's *Southern Indians*, pp. 2, 3, 155, 156, 410; *Maryland Gazette*, July 5, Aug. 2, 1759; Haywood's *Tennessee;* statements of Black-hoof, a Shawnee chief.

LYMAN C. DRAPER'S ACCOUNT OF JOHN FINLEY

"The memory of John Findley, the precursor and pilot of Boone to Kentucky, merits a brighter page on western history than the meagre facts extant will possibly warrant. 'Of all the pioneers,' exclaims Ex-Gov. Morehead, in his Boonesborough Address, 'the least justice has been done to Finley.' The truth seems to be, that such was the wandering character of his life, but little comparatively can be learned of him at this remote period. He appears to have been a native of the north of Ireland,[1] and early emigrated to the region of Carlisle, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, which was almost wholly settled by a hardy race of Scotch-Irish protestants. As early as February, 1752, we

[1] The Rev. Dr. Samuel Finley, President of Princeton College, and ancestor of Prof. S. F. B. Morse, the inventor of the Electric Telegraph, was a native of Armagh County, Ireland, to which his parents fled from Scotland on account of persecution, and he emigrated, in 1734, at the age of nineteen, to Pennsylvania. He was one of seven brothers, some of whom settled in Cumberland County, in that province, and the records of the early settlers there show not less than half a dozen of the name of Finley or Findley during the period of 1750 to 1757, some of whom bore the name of John, and one particularly, was many years a justice of the peace. From these Cumberland Finleys or Findleys, descended the late Gen. Thos. Finley of Chillicothe, and the Rev. J. B. Finley, of Columbus, Ohio; and, on the authority of the latter, we state, that John Findley, the early Kentucky explorer, was related to the Finleys of Cumberland. The late Daniel Bryan, who remembered Findley's visit to Boone in 1768–9, was well aware that Findley was from Pennsylvania.

There were other Findleys in Pennsylvania. A distinct family settled in Franklin County, from whom descended Gov. Wm. Findlay, of Pennsylvania, Gen. James Findley, of Cincinnati, and Thos. Finley, late Postmaster at Baltimore. William Findley, who served in the Revolutionary War, and subsequently settled in Westmoreland County, and was a member of the Pennsylvania convention of 1789, and afterwards of Congress, came directly from Ireland to this country. He was one of the old Scotch dissenters, and was author of a work on the Funding System, and another on the Western Insurrection.—D.

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find Findley engaged among the Shawanoes as an Indian Trader,[1] and the following year, with other traders, was robbed and driven off.[2] The breaking out of the French and Indian War put a stop to the Indian trade for several years, during which he probably served on the Pennsylvania frontiers against the common enemy; for certain it is, that Boone met him in 1755, on Braddock's fatal campaign, which both fortunately survived. We have already adverted to this casual meeting, and how Boone first learned from Findley something of the charming El Dorado of Kentucky.[3] And during that meeting, Boone, no doubt acquainted Findley of the locality of his distant Yadkin home, and of the many Pennsylvanians settled in that country.

"During the winter of 1768–9, Boone was agreeably surprised by the arrival of his old comrade Findley at his rustic home on the Upper Yadkin. How Findley succeeded in finding him, after a lapse of over thirteen years since they had met amid the din and clangor of war, and since which Boone had removed sixty miles westward from his old home, we can only conjecture. Findley was now employed with a horse as a pedler, and had probably visited the Forks of Yadkin; and there learning of Boone's removal, he was probably induced to follow him up, from early attachment formed while mutually sharing the same martial toils and dangers; and very likely, moreover, Findley thought his chances of driving a good trade in the sale of pins, needles, threads, and Irish linens, would largely increase the farther he should go from Salisbury to the westward, even to the western confines of civilization, where Boone had erected his humble cabin and consecrated his home in the quiet valley and amid the rugged mountain scenery of the rapid-rolling Upper Yadkin. It is very possible, too, that in their early interviews

[1] *Penna. Colonial Records*, v., 570; *Penna. Archives*, 1st Series, ii., 14; 2d. Series, ii., 532.—H.

[2] *Virginia State Papers*, i., 247; Darlington's *Gist*, 192.—H.

[3] It was on Braddock's expedition that Boone first met with John Findley, an Irish lover of adventure, who had been engaged in the wandering life of an Indian Trader. Under what circumstances these congenial spirits were brought together, tradition does not inform us. Findley was probably one of the party who, under George Croghan, had tendered their services to Braddock, and were received in so cold and indifferent a manner. In Boone an eager listener was found to the simple narrative of Findley's rambles and discoveries in the Ohio Valley, and more especially in the Kentucky country, the El Dorado of the West. He described to Boone how he could, from North Carolina, find that unequalled land; by passing in a northwestwardly direction, and penetrating the Cumberland or Ouasioto Mountain at the great Gap, thence pursuing the ancient "*Warriors' Path*" towards the Ohio.

This new stock of border information furnished Boone a fruitful topic for study, precisely suited to his peculiar taste and temperament. He scarcely dared to express openly what he secretly cherished—the hope that he might at no distant day be permitted to feast his eyes upon that goodly land, the description of which so completely filled his *beau ideal* of a hunter's paradise.—D.

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about the Kentucky country, in which Boone evinced such uncommon interest, some agreement was made that Findley, after the war, should join Boone, and both go in search of the Eden of the West; and thinking, perhaps, that Findley had forgotten his promise, or, peradventure, had gone to his grave, Boone had attempted to reach the beautiful level of Kentucky, by way of Sandy, in 1767, which, as we have seen, proved a signal failure.

"In the minds of both, the thought of Kentucky was uppermost. It was the last subject about which, thirteen long years before, they had held delightful converse, and which they now gladly and eagerly renewed. Boone related artlessly his fruitless attempt to discover the delectable land, and how he had found and killed many a noble buffalo, and wintered among the mountains of Sandy. Findley, too, rehearsed his Kentucky knowledge and experience. He had, in the autumn of 1752, descended the Ohio in a canoe with three or four assistant voyageurs and a cargo of goods suitable for the Indian trade, in which he had been for some considerable time engaged. He went as far down as the Falls of the Ohio, and was greatly pleased with the freshness and beauty of the country bordering upon the river. There were, at that period, not unfrequently camps of Indians temporarily sojourning at the Falls. He may have found none on this occasion, and returning, met a company of Shawanoes at the mouth of Big Bone Creek, who doubtless took him to view the wonderful mammoth bones only three miles distant. These Indians were going to take their fall and winter hunt in the interior of Kentucky, where game was plenty, and they invited Findley to go along with them, promising to assist him in transporting his merchandise to their hunting-ground, and to trade with him as fast as they should succeed in obtaining pelts and furs—the common currency and medium of exchange with the Indians.

"To this invitation, he yielded a ready assent, and passing from Big Bone Creek through the rich lands of Kentucky, along an Indian trail traced on Evans's old map, they arrived at an Indian settlement situated a mile west of the oil spring on Lulbegrud Creek,[1] a northern tributary of Red River of Kentucky. This town is evidently the one laid down on Evans's map, between Licking and Kentucky rivers, and called by the uncouth name of Es-kip-pa-ki-thi-ki.[2] It was directly

[1] The name of Lulbegrud was given to the stream by a party of early explorers encamped on its banks, who happened to have a copy of *Gulliver's Travels* with them, from which they derived the unpleasing appellation; but its original orthography, *Lorbrulgrud*, or *Pride of the Universe*, has become in the course of time somewhat metamorphosed.—MS. letter of Wm. Flanagan, Esq., of Winchester, Ky.

[2] "Indian Old Corn Fields," where this town stood, were so called by Kentucky settlers after 1800; located about eleven miles east of Winchester in Clark County, Kentucky. The present hamlet of Indian Fields, on Lulbegrud Creek, marks the site

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on the route of the great Warriors' Road leading from the Ohio southward through Cumberland Gap; and was doubtless the town alluded to by Franklin when he asserted, that 'in the year 1752, the Six Nations, Shawanesse, and Delawares had a large town on Kentucke River.'[1] The locality of the settlement, on a small prairie, was extremely beautiful, with a more level region adjacent, and a better quality of land, than was generally found in the country. 'I do not know,' said the late venerable pioneer, Samuel Plummer, 'but one other place to please the eye as well.'

"Here Findley came, erected a cabin for a trading-house, and displayed his gaudy wares to the admiring gaze of the Indians. His tawdry neighbors occupied a number of rude huts, and had a growing crop of corn, beans, and pumpkins. Other Traders also found their way there. Driving a brisk traffic awhile, disputes at length arose between the Traders and a large party of straggling Canadian Indians; when several of the Traders collected at Es-kip-pa-ki-thi-ki or the Little Pick Town, were captured, [six carried to Montreal],[2] some killed, the goods seized, while others, among whom was Findley [and James Lowrey], decamped in safety to the settlements. This occurred, as has previously been stated, January 26, 1753; and was another verification of the ominous name of the *Dark and Bloody Ground*, and sometimes the Middle Ground, by which, as Findley learned, the country was then only known to the Indians,—where scenes of strife and carnage had long been familiar to the warlike sons of the forest.

"Such was Findley's auspicious advent to this western paradise, and such its unhappy issue; and yet he loved Kentucky. He was not the man to get soured by misfortune. 'This country,' says Filson, 'greatly engaged Mr. Finley's attention.' He looked more kindly upon the bright, rather than the dark side of things; and thus it was, that he dwelt so naturally and so particularly upon the real loveliness of the country, the richness of the soil, and the abundance of the game. Perhaps his enthusiastic love of nature occasionally betrayed him into descriptions that might seem to smack somewhat of extravagance; for he assured Boone, that such was the strength of the current at the Falls of the Ohio, and so plenty were wild geese and ducks there,[3] they were

of these fields, and probably, also, the site of Eskippakithiki. The Iroquois name for "the place of many fields," or "prairie," as applied to this tract of land (containing about 3000 acres), was *kenta-ke*, from whence comes the name of the state in which they are situated.—H.

[1] Franklin's *Ohio Settlement*, Lond. 1772, p. 44.—D.

[2] *Col. Records, Penna.*, v., 626, 627, 643, 663. Their names were, Alexander McGinty, Jabez Evans, Jacob Evans, David Hendricks, William Powell, and Thomas Hyde.—H.

[3] Filson, writing in 1784, says: "On these waters, and especially on the Ohio, the geese and ducks are amazingly numerous."—D.

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continually drawn over the cataract, dashed against the rocks and killed, and a person had only to go in a canoe below, and pick up as many of these fowls, fat and plump, as he wanted. Of bears and buffaloes, elk and deer, their number was legion; and at many of the large salt-licks of the country they congregated in such prodigious herds that the sight was truly grand and amazing.

"Daniel Boone and his brother Squire, who was present, heard these recitals with feelings of peculiar delight. The subject, for several years past, had been one of unusual interest to them. Carolina was getting altogether too thickly settled, and game so scarce as to render a roast wild turkey or a venison steak quite a rarity. Florida had been tried and found wanting; the sterile hills and laurel mountains of Sandy were entirely uninviting; but the country which Findley had seen, and which he now so bewitchingly described, seemed to fire their imaginations, and promised to fulfill completely their long-cherished ideal of terrestrial beauty and perfection.

"Men like the Boones and Findley were probably not in the least influenced by the result of the Fort Stanwix treaty, if indeed, which is not very likely, they had heard a syllable of it. They had little studied the effect of treaties, and perhaps had not much faith in an Indian's plighted word, even when solemnly backed by their customary hieroglyphics affixed to treaty papers. Such a glowing account of the country as Findley gave, was alone a sufficient inducement to a man of Daniel Boone's taste and temperament, to eagerly desire to pay it a personal visit. Findley, at this period, was somewhat advanced in years, and made no pretentions to the skill of a woodsman. In his western journeyings, the streams or Indian trails had been his guides. He felt quite sure that there was a better route across the mountains than that which Boone had taken to reach Sandy, as war-parties of the Northern and Southern Indians frequently passed and re-passed along the great Warriors' Road through Kentucky; and he rightly conjectured, that the only certain way of reaching Kentucky through the wilderness, would be to penetrate farther to the westward than Boone had done, until the Indian war-path should be gained, which would lead through the Ouasioto or Cumberland Mountains. If Boone thought from this vague information that he could pilot a party to the war-trace and gap in question, Findley was ready and willing to attempt the daring enterprise.[1]

"When the hope of discovering a new and desirable country was

[1] This account of Findley's visit to Boone, his representations of Kentucky, and the project for attempting its discovery, is made up from the MS. narrative of Daniel Bryan, and notes of conversations with Daniel Bryan, Col. Nathan Boone and lady, Moses and Isaiah Boone, and the Hon. Edward Coles, who visited Boone in Missouri; together with Boone's *Narrative*, Filson's *Kentucky*, and the *Md. Gazette*.—D.

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held out to Boone, he was emphatically a *minute-man;* his mind was always made up for such an undertaking. Boone and his brother at once resolved on the exploration. Their brother-in-law, John Stuart, already much experienced in such matters, and residing in the Bryan settlement in the Forks of the Yadkin, together with three of Boone's Upper Yadkin neighbors, Joseph Holden, James Mooney, and William Cooley,[1] readily volunteered to share the dangers of the bold adventure. Holden, Mooney, and Cooley were employed by Boone to act as common hunters and camp-keepers. How Mrs. Boone acted on this occasion, we do not exactly know; perhaps she kindly intimated a doubt of the wisdom of such a tramontane excursion, but her gentle nature would never have permitted her to throw any serious obstacles in the way. Let her good man and Findley put in the spring crop, and Stuart, Holden, and Cooley theirs, and the women and children could keep down the weeds and bestir the soil, and Squire Boone could remain to aid all the respective families in gathering the harvest.[2] Findley and Mooney, it is believed, were alone unblessed with wife or home. Such seem to have been their plans and arrangements. Winter soon glided away, and cheerful spring with its busy scenes came on; the seed was quickly planted, and the simple outfit of the party speedily completed.

"On the morning of the 1st of May, 1769, the adventurous band started from Boone's residence, near the head of Yadkin, on their long and toilsome journey 'in quest of the country of Kentucke.' They bade their wives, friends, and little ones adieu, and with alternate hopes and fears, turned their faces toward the great North-West. If a tear now and then stole unbidden down their manly cheeks, it was an indication that they were not destitute of the finer feelings of humanity. Each was equipped with a trusty rifle upon his shoulder; on his right side was his tomahawk with its handle thrust under the leathern belt that encircled his body, and on the left was suspended the hunting-knife in its sheath attached to the belt, and a powder-horn and bullet-pouch of ample dimensions. They were attired in the simple, convenient, and beautiful hunting-shirt, or loose open frock, generally made of dressed deer-skins, with leggins or drawers of the same material fastened to the body belt, and tied around below the knee; and the usual deer-skin

[1] Filson's orthography is *Cool*. But it is the unanimous testimony of Daniel Bryan, Moses and Isaiah Boone, Col. Nathan Boone and lady, that Daniel and Squire Boone invariably pronounced the name Cooley. Probably Filson or his printer inadvertently dropped the final syllable.

[2] Daniel Boone chiefly raised his nephew, Jesse Boone, son of Israel Boone, and he was probably at this period a member of his family, and aided in the labors of the farm during his uncle's absence. He was the grandfather of the late Hon. Ratliffe Boone, of Indiana, and was always unfortunate in his younger days. first breaking a leg, and then an arm.

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moccasins covered their feet. An uncouth fur cap generally completed the equipage, but Boone despised the article and always wore a hat. Each of the party was mounted upon a good horse, with a blanket or bear-skin fastened behind, together with a camp kettle, a little stock of salt, and peradventure a small supply of provisions to last till the game region should be reached, when the wild woods alone would be relied on for subsistence alike for man and beast.

"First scaling the lofty Blue Ridge, they soon reached the Three Forks of New River, and then passed over the Stone Mountain at a place called '*The Stairs*,' and thence over the Iron Mountain into Holston Valley; and continuing their course westwardly, they crossed the valley, passing through Moccasin Gap of Clinch Mountain, and crossing successively Clinch River, Powell's Mountain and Walden's Ridge, they at length entered Powell's Valley.[1] This lovely vale must have elicited their admiration, and there, too, they must have fallen in with Joseph Martin's party, engaged in making their settlement and improvements. In Powell's Valley they doubtless struck the *Hunters' Trail*,[2] which led them to the anxiously looked-for Cumberland Gap. That point reached, and finding the *Warriors' Road* so distinctly marked, must have imparted new life and energy to the fearless adventurers. A dozen miles farther along the same route, probably, that Walker's party had pursued nineteen years before, brought them to Cumberland River, crossing which at the old Indian ford, they continued down that stream a few miles to Flat Lick, where they left the Indian path, and bore off more to the left, crossing Stinking, Turkey, and Richland Creeks, and Robinson's Creek, by Laurel River, and thence across Rockcastle River, and up its west branch; or Round-Stone-Lick Fork, near to its head, where they encamped awhile.

"Boone and Findley began to think that the beautiful level of Kentucky could not now be very far distant. While the rest of the party were encamped to recruit themselves and horses, and kill game and provide a supply of jerk, Boone, all eager to catch a glimpse of Findley's western paradise, shouldered his rifle and directed his course to the distant ridge dividing the waters of Rockcastle and Kentucky, and ascending the highest knob, called the Big Hill, obtained a fine view of the gently undulating region which now comprises the counties of Garrard and Madison, and thought he could see still further beyond the level region,

[1] MS. statement of Daniel Bryan, who had himself passed several times over the same route, the first time only eight years after this primitive adventure of Boone, Findley, and their companions.

[2] The letter of Joseph Martin, which has already been given [in the Draper MS.], dated in Powell's Valley, May 9, 1769, probably about ten days before Boone and party passed along, speaks of the *hunters' trail* as a fixed fact anterior to that date.

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to discover which had so long been the darling object of his thoughts by day, and his dreams by night. With a gladdened heart he returned to camp, and related his discoveries. Once ready to renew their journey, they crossed the ridge near the knob which Boone had ascended, which was not far from the head of Paint Lick Creek, a small tributary of Kentucky, on the confines of the present counties of Garrard and Madison. They then bore more to the north-east, striking the waters of Station Camp Creek, probably the Red Lick Fork, and made their *Station camp*, from which circumstance the main creek derived its name.[1] This stream, which must ever, from this early historical association, maintain a distinguished notoriety, is chiefly in Estill County, and flows into the Kentucky River, from the south, nearly opposite to Irvine.

"It was probably owing quite as much to the weather, which had for some time been the most uncomfortable, as to the abundance of game, that led, at that time and place, to the location of the Station Camp. They soon erected a desirable shelter, and while Boone and his companions were heartily engaged in hunting, Findley started off in search of his old trading-place on Lulbegrud Creek. He could have had but little difficulty in finding it, for the *Warriors' Road* ran along the western bank of Station Camp Creek to its mouth, and crossing the Kentucky a short distance below, led directly to the old Indian town of Es-kip-pa-ki-thi-ki, or Lulbegrud. In about ten days Findley returned, reporting that he had found the place, and though the Indian huts were burned, some of the stockading and gate-posts were yet standing.[2] Boone and

[1] Peck erroneously supposed this camp was "on the waters of Red River, and, so far as can now be ascertained, within the present boundaries of Morgan County." If Findley's old trading-place is here alluded to by Dr. Peck, he still placed the locality a good many miles too far to the eastward. Boone's carelessly expressed *Narrative* does rather convey the idea that the main camp was located at the point where Findley had formerly traded with the Indians; but Daniel Bryan, who was Boone's nephew, and went to Kentucky as early as 1777, and had a good opportunity of learning the fact, says it was "on the waters of Station Camp Creek." The venerable Samuel Boone, another nephew of the old pioneer, who resided many years in the region of Station Camp Creek, says it was on that stream that Boone and Findley had their main camp, but does not know its precise locality. Spalding's *Sketches of Kentucky*, upon what authority we do not know, corroborates this view. The very name of the stream carries with it evidence of the correctness of the position here taken; and the late Maj. Bland W. Ballard, who hunted upon Station Camp in 1779, well remembered it then bore its present name, the origin of which, however, he did not know. Col. Nathan Boone can only say that his father's and Stuart's *subsequent* camp was on the north side of Kentucky River, but does not know where the first or Station camp was located, and would fully credit Daniel Bryan's statement on that head. When one of the writers visited the venerable Daniel Bryan, early in 1844, the particular spot where this famous camp was pitched was not a subject of thought or conversation; and since the passage of that old pioneer to the tomb, it can probably never be determined with more precision than here stated.

[2] In the early settlement of the country, according to the statement of the late

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Stuart now accompanied Findley there, which they reached on the 7th of June, and found it precisely as he had stated, which fully corroborated in their minds all that he had related of Kentucky, if they had cherished a doubt of it before. Now returning to the Station Camp in high spirits, all felt assured that Kentucky was really discovered.[1]

"While the others continued in the exciting occupation of hunting, Boone and Findley determined to make a more thorough examination of the country. They had not gone far when Findley was taken sick, and though not dangerous, yet he felt himself unfit to undergo the hardships and exposures of the journey. So Boone, having provided him a comfortable shelter, and a supply of meat, proceeded alone on his course, north of Kentucky River, towards the garden spot of the West. At length he ascended an eminence, and with joy and wonder beheld the beautiful landscape of Kentucky spread out invitingly before him.[2] Boone must have felt something as Moses did when he had toilingly reached Pisgah's lofty summit, and had a distant view of the promised land, throughout its whole extent, with, however, this important difference, that the Lord's prohibition of Moses ever going thither, did not happily apply to Boone's case.

"That must have been a joyous day, and a proud sight, for Boone, looking out upon the broad valleys and fertile bottoms of Kentucky. 'We have no doubt,' exclaims the eloquent Simms, 'he felt very much as Columbus did, gazing from his caraval on San Salvador; as Cortes, looking down from the crest of Ahualco, on the Valley of Mexico; or Vasco Nunez, standing alone on the peak of Darien, and stretching his eyes over the hitherto undiscovered waters of the Pacific.'[3] Having thus 'proceeded alone to the heights,' as Boone himself enthusiastically expressed it, 'which overlook this terrestrial paradise, he descended into those fertile plains which are unequalled on our earth, and laid the fairest claim to the description of the garden of God.'[4] Returning to Findley, who had measurably recovered, they made together a more thorough survey of the rich country in the Elkhorn region, and, finally retracing their steps to camp, informed their companions of their discoveries.

"The forests, prairies, and cane-brakes were all filled with game, and several months were now delightfully employed, either in the pleasures of the chase, or in sallying forth from their Station Camp to reconnoitre the

Samuel Plummer, there were some remains of huts still to be seen at the old Indian town on Lulbegrud, and a pair of cedar gate-posts which one Webb cut down to get the iron hinges.

[1] Bryan's MS. statement.

[2] Filson's *Kentucky;* Bryan's *Narrative;* Boone's *Memorial to the Kentucky Legislature.*

[3] Simms's *Southern Magazine*, April, 1845; also, Simms's *Views and Reviews.*

[4] Boone's *Memorial.*

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country. Hunting, however, formed their chief occupation. The summer and fall hunt was necessarily confined almost exclusively to deer, whose skins were then in good condition, while the pelage of the furry tribe was not fit for use at that season of the year. The party paired off, each couple taking different directions, and all returning to camp on a specified day. Boone and Stuart were hunting companions. Not infrequently a couple would remain to keep camp, and prepare the skins for packing and transportation.

"Hunters, half inclined to indolence, were fond of watching the salt-licks, and there waylaying and killing the unsuspecting deer. But Boone preferred roaming, without restraint, through the noble forests. He would start at the peep of day, when the leaves were moistened with the nightdew, and he could steal noiselessly upon his game. There are two periods during the twenty-four hours when deer are either feeding or walking around—about the rising of the moon, and again early in the morning; and to these periods, experienced hunters pay great attention. When on their feet and moving about, the deer are more easily discovered than when lying down; and although they were more particularly engaged in feeding at those respective periods, yet the hunters did not generally relax their efforts but with the expiring day.[1]

"Preparing deer-skins for market was something of a labor. Both the hair, and the outer grain in which the hair takes root, were scraped off with a knife, as a currier dresses leather; and then, when dry, the skin was thoroughly rubbed across a staking-board until rendered quite soft and pliant, thus stripping it of all unnecessary weight and fitting it for packing more compactly. This process, in hunter's parlance, was denominated *graining*, and the skins were then pronounced *half-dressed;* and a horse, heavily laden, could carry something like a hundred half-dressed deer-skins, averaging two and a half pounds each, worth in market, at that day, about forty cents per pound.

"Instead of the *cache*, or subterranean receptacle for skins, so common in the Rocky Mountain region, it was customary with Boone and the hunters of his time, to place their half-dressed skins across poles, elevated several feet from the ground, with several layers upon each other, and a pole fastened on top, and still another on each side, suspended by tugs, to keep the skins closely together, covered with elk or other outspread skins, or peeled bark, to protect them from the weather. When enough of these skins were thus collected to form a pack, they were nicely folded and packed into a bale, two of which, one swung on either side, would constitute a horse-load. The packs, until sent off, were placed on scaffolds, protected from the weather; and were thus elevated, as were those on poles, so as to be beyond the reach of hungry bears and

[1] Conversations with Col. Nathan Boone.

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ravenous wolves, who will not fail to eat, tear, and destroy them whenever an opportunity occurs.

"No value was attached by hunters to buffalo, bear, and elk skins, as they were too bulky to convey so great a distance to market, and it is quite doubtful if they were then marketable at any price. They were, however, killed in their season for meat. Buffaloes were in the best order in the fall, after feeding upon wild grass, buffalo clover, and pea vine, and, to some extent also, upon acorns, beech-nuts and chestnuts; the clover, a kind with a large white blossom, lasting the entire growing season, but the pea vine only affording sustenance in the latter part of summer and early autumn. The bear does not seem to lose flesh during his torpid state in winter, but coming out from his den in the spring and greedily devouring young nettles and other tender herbs, seldom any grass, which acting as a cathartic, soon very much reduces him in flesh. During the early summer bears eat very little, and that chiefly worms and bugs, which they paw out of the ground, and scratch from decayed logs and trees, until berries and other wild fruits appear, and finally acorns, hazel, hickory, beech, and chestnuts, when they fatten very rapidly; and it is the quickness with which this flesh is acquired that gives wild bear meat, in its appropriate season, so sweet and tender a taste, and renders it so incomparably superior to that of the tamed bear, as, in the latter case, the animal is always kept in good order.

"Elk meat was considered equal to venison, and was used for variety, or when buffalo, deer, or bear could not be obtained. The hunters occasionally killed elks to convert their hides into tugs or straps, with which to pack their deer and other skins. Both elk and deer are fattest in the autumn, and subsist upon the same kinds of food as the buffalo. About Christmas, they all commence falling away in flesh, and become extremely poor in the latter part of winter and early spring, and sometimes in May they begin to improve again. Wild turkeys, which make such excellent meat in the fall, winter, and spring, become very poor in summer, in consequence of wood-ticks, and scarcity of desirable food. A roasted buffalo marrow-bone, or a choice cut from the buffalo hump, was esteemed most delicious eating. Besides these rich and tempting viands which necessarily formed the hunter's repast, berries, plums, grapes, and nuts, towards the close of summer and during the autumn, added largely to the delicacies of the wilderness.[1]

"There were then no bees in Kentucky, and so our hunters could have had no wild honey; for bees generally keep pace with, and not much precede the advancing settlements. Hence originated the name of

[1] These remarks on summer and fall hunting, graining and scaffolding skins, and the appropriate season for best securing pelts and wild meats, are based entirely on notes of conversations with the venerable Col. Nathan Boone of Missouri.

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English flies bestowed upon them by the Indians, who used to say to each other, when they saw a swarm of bees in the woods, "Well, brothers, it is time for us to decamp, for the white people are coming."[1]

"So passed away, prosperously and happily, Boone's first summer and autumn in Kentucky. Numerous packs of skins were collected by the skill and industry of our sturdy hunters, and secured upon scaffolds, at the Station Camp, and at several outcamps. The horses had regained their strength; a generous store of buffalo, bear and elk meat, venison, and turkeys had been provided, when in their best condition in autumn, and *jerked* for winter and spring supply. The arrival of Squire Boone was rather daily hoped for, than really expected, with supplies of salt, traps, and ammunition, and love-messages from their sweet-hearts, wives and little ones; and to conduct, on his return, the loaded pack-horses to the Yadkin settlements. Never did Daniel Boone seem happier, or his prospects more bright and hopeful. From June till December, he had, in common with his companions, ranged the noble forests, and prosecuted their sports, without meeting a solitary Indian, or discovering the least *sign* of any in the country. But a change was at hand—a storm portending, boding no good to these fearless hunters in the sequestered wilds of Kentucky.[2]

"On the twenty-second of the latter month [December, 1769], Boone and Stuart again sallied forth, perhaps for the hundredth time, into gorgeous forest, never once dreaming that danger lurked in their path. . . .

"Near the close of this beautiful day, while roaming all unconcerned, through a region of incomparable beauty, near the Kentucky River, in ascending the brow of a small hill, a large party of Indians, with guns, knives, and tomahawks, rushed out from a thick cane-brake, and made Boone and Stuart prisoners. The Indians were too near, and the surprise too sudden, to admit of the escape of our unwary hunters. The Indians proved to be a party of Shawanoes, who were returning from a fall hunt on Green River, to their homes north of the Ohio. Their leader's name was Captain Will. Finding men with guns, and perhaps with skins packed upon their backs, the Indians sternly demanded them

[1] Moses' *Kentucky*, edition 1794, p. 508; Kalm's *Travels*; Grahame's *Colonies*, Boston ed., i., 564; conversations with Col. N. Boone, who added that there were no bees in the woods of Missouri till the white settlements expanded.

[2] In Perkins's "Sketch of the Pioneers of Kentucky," in the *N. A. Review* for Jan., 1846, and republished in Perkins's *Memoirs*, it is suggested that Boone and Findley must have been engaged in the Indian trade during all this period of over half a year, as such a party of half a dozen whites could hardly have so long scoured the choice hunting grounds of the natives without discovery. But this volunteer guess-work cannot be suffered to override Boone's own *Narrative*, corroborated by Daniel Bryan's narrative, and Daniel and Squire Boone's statements to their children.

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to show their camps, threateningly intimating with their uplifted tomahawks the fatal consequences of tardiness or refusal.

"Boone, like a true philosopher, invariably took things coolly. . . . On this occasion, he readily consented to comply with all the whims and demands of his captors. But while he and Stuart were piloting them to the nearest camp, Boone's thoughts were busily employed upon the best course of procedure in these trying circumstances. Reaching the first camp, and finding one of the camp-keepers there, Boone managed to start him off unnoticed by the Indians, who were busily engaged in securing the plunder, to give timely notice to the rest of the party quickly to remove, from the Station Camp, the packs of skins and every thing of value, beyond the grasp of the rapacious plunderers.

"Sad was the disappointment of Boone and Stuart, after leading the Indians, with comparative cheerfulness, to each successive camp, where the booty obtained was but trifling, and finally reaching the Station Camp, to find nothing whatever carried out of the reach of the Indians. 'The time of our sorrow was now arrived,' says Boone in his *Narrative;* all their horses, a large quantity of pelts of great value, guns, ammunition, and every article of comfort and convenience, were all appropriated by this robber-band of Shawanoes. Whether Findley and the camp-keepers were absent hunting, and thus failed to receive the notification of the messenger, or the craven spirit of fear had seized upon them, utterly paralyzing their efforts, is not now known, but they were, at all events, completely out of harm's way.

"At no time had the Indians apparently designed keeping Boone and Stuart as prisoners of war, for it was then professedly a time of peace. Having gained their object, they dismissed their captives, presenting each with two pairs of moccasins, a doe-skin for patch-leather, a little trading-gun, and a few loads of powder and shot, so that they might supply themselves with meat on their way back to the settlements, and then gave them this parting advice: 'Now, brothers, go home and stay there. Don't come here any more, for this is the Indians' hunting ground, and all the animals, skins, and furs are ours; and if you are so foolish as to venture here again, you may be sure the wasps and yellow-jackets will sting you severely.' . . .

"Several days were consumed in going the rounds, and sacking the hunters' camps. The Indians once on their way towards the Ohio richly laden with their ill-gotten spoils, Findley and the others made their appearance. Gloom depicted every countenance save Boone's. His was always hopeful. He stoutly protested against letting the affair pass off without making a single effort to recover something of their losses. Findley, Holden, Mooney, and Cooley were evidently bent on returning home, and giving up the enterprise, so far at least as the peltries were

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concerned, as a bad job. Boone proposed if they would remain at the camp, that he and Stuart would pursue the Indian Trail, make a vigorous attempt to regain possession of some of the horses, and return to camp in the course of two or three days. Destitute of everything needful for the approaching winter, and plundered even of their goodly store of jerk, Boone keenly felt the need of securing at least one or two horses to enable some of the party to return to the Yadkin for supplies of ammunition and other necessaries. He was, therefore, willing to run some hazard, with the hope of effecting an object so desirable. Nor was Stuart less anxious to engage in the enterprise.

"When the Indians were thought to have advanced a sufficient distance towards home to feel themselves secure against pursuit, Boone and Stuart started, leaving the others at the Station Camp to await the result of their wild adventure. After two days, they overtook the Indians encamped at evening, and, undiscovered, our sturdy soldiers secreted themselves in the cane or bushes, and waited patiently the approach of denser darkness, and the slumbers of the Indians, to aid them in the accomplishment of their purpose. They permitted the night well nigh to pass away, until they believed the Indians were profoundly locked in sleep, when they sallied forth from their silent covert. The horses were easily found, not very far from the Indian encampment, some of them hoppled, and belled also—the latter, often practised by frontier whites, as well as Indians, having a tendency to keep the herd together; and they succeeded in obtaining four or five horses. It was nearly day-light before they got started with their prize, as Stuart spent a considerable time unavailingly in search of his horse; and, in default of which, he had recourse to the law of retaliation, and had taken one of the Indians'. But Boone, more fortunate, had obtained his worthy nag.

"The ensuing day and night they kept up their flight on the return trail unremittingly, and ventured to tarry a brief period early in the second morning, to give the poor horses a momentary respite and enable them to refresh themselves on the wild grass, clover, and pea vine by the wayside. As the two weary adventurers were reclining upon the sunny side of a hill or sloping ground, Boone basking himself, after a chilly night, in the rays of the rising sun, and Stuart at the moment engaged in tying his moccasins, the former thought, with his ear to the ground, that he heard something like a rumbling noise, and raising his head and casting a look behind, beheld with astonishment a party of Indians galloping on horseback over the crest of the hill, with their guns glittering brightly in the sunbeams. This unexpected cavalcade was too near to allow Boone and Stuart the least chance of escape. So they wisely submitted themselves to their fate with the best grace they could.

"Having quickly missed their horses, the Indians knew well enough

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where they had gone. So a dozen of the most active of their party, at the head of whom was Captain Will, mounted their fleetest animals, and took the trail in pursuit. When they came upon Boone and Stuart, some of the Indians appeared quite angry, shaking their tomahawks at the white men's heads; but generally evincing cheerful countenances, they whooped and laughed wildly, as though they were making sport at the expense of the recaptured prisoners, for not having exhibited sufficient smartness in carrying out their bold design. Taking one of the bells from the horses, and fastening it around Boone's neck, they compelled him to caper around and jingle it, chiding him, every now and then, in broken English, with the derisive inquiry, '*Steal horse, eh?*' Satisfied with this sport, the Indians at length, with their captives and booty, set out leisurely on their return. . . .

"On the evening of the seventh day,[1] Captain Will's party of Shawanoes pitched their camp beside a large, thick cane-brake in the primeval forests, when the last rays of sunset had departed. This was probably at a point not very far east of May's Lick, in Mason County, on the old Warriors' Road which led past the Upper Blue Licks to the mouth of Cabin Creek on the Ohio, a little above the present Maysville, Ky. In all that fertile region, cane-patches were frequent, and of a luxuriant growth. While the Indians were somewhat scattered, some engaged in hoppling the horses, some in gathering wood, and others in making a blazing fire, Boone gave a sign or hint to his companion, which sufficed for a proper understanding between the captives. Casting a furtive glance around them, they each simultaneously seized a gun and some ammunition, which had just been temporarily laid aside by the Indians,—one of the party luckily obtaining his own, the other a poorer Indian gun; and dashing into the thick cane, they were out of the clutches of the savages before the latter had time to recover from the surprise caused by the celerity with which it was done. Going a little distance, and the darkness becoming almost impenetrable, they hid themselves awhile; during which they inferred by the noise and evident movements of the Indians, that some of them immediately commenced gathering up their horses, lest they should again lose them, while others seemed to hasten either way around the cane-brake, apparently intending to head the fugitives should they attempt to emerge from it. So dark was it in the cane, and so difficult to make any headway in pursuit, that the Indians made no efforts to follow or search for them there. When the confusion was over, and all was quiet again, Boone and Stuart ventured, with the utmost circumspection, to make their way through the tangled cane, and, by dint of hard traveling, were soon beyond the reach of their inveterate foes.[2]

[1] Probably about the 4th of January, 1770.

[2] The particulars of Boone and Stuart's first captivity and camp-robbery are

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"Guided by the light of the stars by night, and the moss upon the northern side of the trees by day, not daring, in all likelihood, to follow the old Indian war-trace, they returned 'speedily,' as Boone expresses it, to their old camp, having accomplished a journey probably within twenty-four hours, on which the Indians had consumed seven days. They found, to their great grief, their camp abandoned, and their companions gone; the dying embers of their camp-fire indicated but a recent departure. No time could be lost by our adventurers if they hoped to overtake Findley and his party; so, weary as they were, they hurriedly pursued their outward trail, and fortunately came up with the fugitives, thirty-five or forty miles from the Station Camp, on Rockcastle River. Here Boone, amid so much misfortune, was happily surprised to meet his brother Squire among the company. Having gathered the summer and fall crops, he had come out from Carolina with various supplies, and also to explore the country, and when he reached the New River region he had been joined by Alexander Neely. Following the Hunters' Trail through Powell's Valley, and the Warriors' Road through Cumberland Gap, which led thence to Station Camp Creek, they accidentally found the camp of their friends of whom they were in search. Learning of the hazardous mission of Daniel Boone and Stuart, and drawing the worst apprehensions from their having so long overstaid their time, the whole company soon resolved, in their disheartening situation, on returning to Carolina. . . . While he really loved his wife and children, he [Boone] did not yet care to go back to the plow so long as he could live comfortably by his rifle in the wilderness. And more than this, he had incurred no small expense, and sustained no inconsiderable losses, in the inception and prosecution of this enterprise; and now that Squire Boone had so opportunely arrived, with more horses, traps, and a fresh supply of ammunition, he could not help thinking that it was his duty to remain, and procure a load of valuable furs to pack home, with which to wipe off all indebtedness against him. Stuart, always faithful to Boone's wishes and interests, thought so too; and Squire Boone and Neely concluded they would also like to remain, and take a hand in hunting, trapping, and exploring the country.

"The thing was soon arranged satisfactorily, these four resolving to continue in the wilderness, while Findley and the others were equally

given mainly on the authority of Daniel Bryan, while the details of their excursion to recover their horses, their re-captivity and escape, are partly from Bryan's statement, but chiefly from the recollections of the venerable Nathan Boone and lady, who often heard Col. Daniel Boone rehearse them in their presence. Filson furnished no minute narration of these events, except, by some unaccountable blunder, to make Boone and Stuart steal away from the Indians in the night, when their captors were fast asleep; but such was not the manner in which Col. Boone himself invariably related the incident to his family.

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determined on abandoning this Eden-land, which, though all beautiful to the eye, had been to them the scene of so much disappointment and misfortune. The parties respectively bade each other a hearty adieu, and parted. No unusual event happened to the homeward-bound party until reaching Holston Valley, when Findley took the left hand road, passing through the frontier settlements of Virginia, bending his course towards his home and kindred in Pennsylvania, while Holden, Mooney, and Cooley pursued more to the right, over the mountains to the head of Yadkin. Thus were the Boones, Stuart, and Neely left alone in the forests and cane-brakes of Kentucky.[1]

"Holden, Mooney, and Cooley never after, it is believed, ventured to visit the West, this early adventure having proved too disastrous again to think of trying their fortunes in that quarter. Holden and Cooley were common neighbors of Boone on the Upper Yadkin, and lived and died there. Poor Mooney was one of the morning hunters prior to the battle of Point Pleasant, whose companion, Hickman, was killed, and he himself fell during the contest of that memorable day.

"The Boones never heard a word of Findley afterward. But in the Upcott Collection of Newspaper Cuttings, in the New York Historical Society, is a published extract from a Philadelphia letter, dated Jan. 3, 1772, evidently addressed to some London correspondent, containing the following intelligence: 'Several Senecas have lately been killed by our people, and the Indians, in revenge, have murdered a whole family on Buffalo Creek, and four farmers on Youghiogany; and they have likewise killed Robert Parsons, the trader, and robbed John Findley of above five hundred pounds' worth of goods.' As this was nearly two years after Findley had parted from the Boones in Kentucky, we may conclude that he at once re-engaged in the Indian trade upon his return to Pennsylvania, but with no better success in the sequel than formerly. And as we hear no more of him, save a vague tradition of the Rev. J. B. Finley, that he was lost in the wilds of the West not long after his Kentucky exploration with Boone, he probably did not long survive this last robbery, which occurred evidently towards the close of 1771; but whether this early and meritorious adventurer sickened and died alone, somewhere in the fertile valley of the Ohio, or fell a victim to savage cruelty, remains a mystery, and must unquestionably remain so forever."

The Pennsylvania *Archives* show that John Finley was licensed as an

[1] Bryan's MS. *Narrative;* MS. notes of conversations with Daniel Bryan, and also with Col. Nathan Boone and lady.

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Indian Trader in the years 1744, 1745, and 1746. His name also appears on a list of "Traders unlicensed from August 10, 1747, to August 10, 1748." He appears as one of the witnesses to a "Message to the Governor from the Shawonese," sent by four chiefs of the Lower Shawnee Town at the mouth of the Scioto, dated February 8, 1752. The name is there written "Findley."

Dr. Draper's account shows that Finley descended the Ohio River in a canoe as far as the Falls (now Louisville), in the fall of 1752, and from there proceeded to the Shawnee Town of Eskippakithiki, or the Little Pict (a corruption of Pequea, the name of one of the Shawnee clans) Town, on the Red River of Kentucky.

In a letter written by Thomas Cresap to Governor Dinwiddie late in 1751, which is undated, but to which Dinwiddie replied January 23, 1752, Cresap informs the Governor of Virginia that "one James [John?] Finley and another [Trader] are suspected to be taken and carried off by the French, who make a practice of taking off our men every year; therefore, I think it highly necessary to take the French that are at Logstown, and detain them till those of ours taken last year, as well as those suspected to be taken this year, are restored."

As Dr. Draper shows, Finley was not captured in January, 1753, although his goods were stolen. In a deposition made before Col. James Patton, Lieutenant of Augusta County, Virginia, by "John Finley, of the Province of Pennsylvania," Finley swears "that he was at Shenoppini Indian Town [on the site of Pittsburgh] about the fourteenth or fifteenth of June, 1753, where William Russell was, by a commission from under the hand of the Honble. William Fairfax, to negotiate affairs with the Indians relating to the trouble with the French . . . that I was in company with the said William Russel the fifteenth and sixteenth day of the said June . . . that the said Russel was sober all the time he was in his company," etc.

The account of the attack on the Little Pict Town, about the beginning of the year 1753, is given in a letter written by Captain William Trent, George Croghan's partner, to Governor Hamilton, dated, "Virginia, April 10, 1753." Trent's letter reads as follows:

May it please your Honour:

I have received a letter just now from Mr. Croghan, wherein he acquaintes me that fifty odd Ottawas, Conewagoes, one Dutchman, and one of the Six Nations, that was their captain, met with some of our people at a place called *Kentucky*, on this side Allegheny river, about one hundred and fifty miles from the lower Shawanese town. They took eight prisoners, five belonging to Mr. Croghan and me, the others to Lowry: they took three or four hundred pounds worth of goods from us; one of them made his escape after he had been a prisoner three days. Three of John Finley's men are killed by the little Pict Town, and no

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account of himself. They robbed Michael Teaff's People near the Lakes. There was one Frenchman in Company. The Owendots secured his people and five horse loads of skins.

Mr. Croghan is coming thro' the Woods with some Indians and Whites, and the rest of the White men and the Indians are coming up the river in a body; though 't is a question whether they escape; as three hundred Ottawas were expected at the lower Town every day, and another party of French and Indians coming down the river. The Indians are in such confusion that there is no knowing who to trust. I expect they will all join the French except the Delawares; as they expect no assistance from the English.

The low Dutchman's name that was with the Party that robbed our People, is Philip Philips. His mother lives near Col. Johnson's. He was taken by the French Indians about six years ago, and has lived ever since with them. He intends sometime this summer to go and see his mother. If your Honour please to acquaint the Governor of New York with it, he may possibly get him secured, by keeping it secret and acquainting Col. Johnson with it, and ordering him to apprehend him. If the Dutchmen once come to understand it, they will contrive to send him word to keep out of the way.

I intend leaving directly for Allegheny, with provisions for our People that are coming through the woods and up the river. I am your Honour's most obedient humble servant,

WILLIAM TRENT.

So far as the writer has been able to discover, these are all the references to John Finley, as a Trader, which appear on the printed records of Pennsylvania and Virginia prior to the time of the Braddock campaign, in which, according to Draper, Finley participated.

The early tax-lists and land records of Pennsylvania show the following persons of this name to have been landowners in the Province prior to 1755:

John Finley, East Nottingham Township, Chester County, 1729, 1747.

John Finley, Philadelphia County, 1730.

John Finley, West Bradford Township, Chester County, 1732, 1734, 1735, 1737, 1739, 1740, 1747. Died in West Bradford Township, 1749.

John Finley, London Britain Township, Chester County, 1734, 1737.

John Finley, Londonderry Township, Chester County, 1737, 1740.

John Finley, Sadsbury Township, Chester County, 1737, 1740.

John Finley, Paxtang Township, Lancaster (now Dauphin) County, 1747.

John Finley, Sr., Lurgan Township, Cumberland (now Franklin) County, 1751. An elder in Middle Spring Church in 1744. The brother of Revs. Samuel and James Finley. Died before 1758. He left a son,

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John, who was under fourteen in 1762, afterwards a lieutenant in the Revolution.

John Finley, Esq., Lurgan Township, 1751. Died 1783, leaving seven children, among whom was a son, John, who died in 1791.

John Finley, sawyer, Lurgan Township, 1751.

John Finley, East Pennsborough Township, Cumberland County, 1752.

John Finley, East Nantmeal Township, Chester County, 1753.

John Finley, Chanceford Township, York County, before 1754. Born 1726; died in York County, 1782; served as a Major of York County militia in the Revolution.

John Finley, Cumberland County, died before 1764, leaving a widow, Alice, who, in that year was the wife of James Adams.

John Finley, Lurgan Township, killed by the Indians in Joseph Steenson's field, near Shippensburg, July 20, 1757, and his son carried off. He may have been either the John Finley, Sr., whose estate was administered in 1758; or the John Finley, sawyer in 1751.

Eliminating the John Finleys whose names appear as landowners prior to 1740, as being probably too old to have piloted Daniel Boone into Kentucky in 1769, we may consider which, if any, of the Finleys of Lurgan, Paxtang, or East Pennsborough, was John Finley, the Indian Trader. John Finley, Sr., and John Finley, Esq., we know were not; as they lived and died in Cumberland County. The latter was one of the Justices for the county in 1750. John Finley, sawyer, was possibly the one who was killed by the Indians near Shippensburg in 1757; and he may have been the first husband of Alice, who, in 1764, appears as the wife of James Adams.

We now come to John Finley of Paxtang Township, 1747, and John Finley of East Pennsborough Township, 1752. These two townships are on opposite sides of the Susquehanna River, where Harrisburg stands. The two names on the tax-lists may have referred to the same person, owning lands in both townships. If so, this John Finley was in all probability the same as the "John Findlay" who, on September 16, 1744, was married by the Reverend John Elder, of the Paxtang Presbyterian Church, to Elizabeth Harris,[1] daughter of John Harris, the Indian Trader at Harris's Ferry on the Susquehanna (whose son, John Harris, Jr., afterwards established the town of Harrisburg). Elizabeth Harris Finley died in 1769. John Harris, Sr., besides owning a large tract of land on the site of Harrisburg, had taken up several hundred acres of land on the west side of the river, above Conodoguinet Creek in East Pennsborough Township, Cumberland County, and below Yellow Breeches Creek, in Newberry (now Fairview) Township, York County.

[1] *Penna. Archives*, Sec. Series, viii., 797.

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In the records of the Pennsylvania Land Office it appears that Samuel Neave, on March 11, 1752, filed a caveat against a survey made for one, Hugh McCormick, under a warrant dated April 9, 1750, for land in Paxtang Township, Lancaster County, for the reason "that John Finley has a prior warrant, whose right thereto is now in the said Samuel Neave." This was probably the land for which Finley received a grant May 11, 1747,[1] which was taxed in 1747, and which he had apparently disposed of to Neave before March 11, 1752.

There is on record in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, a deed made by "John Finley," dated September 20, 1772, acknowledged before William Patterson eight days later, and signed by John Finley's mark; "J. F." This deed describes John Finley as "late of the Province of South Carolina," and speaks of Elizabeth Finley, his late wife, formerly Elizabeth Harris, daughter of John Harris. It releases to Finley's daughters, Esther Finley, wife of William Patterson of Juniata, and Margaret Finley (afterwards married to William Wurtz), his life estate in 290 acres of land in Newberry Township, and 172 acres in Paxtang Township.

By a process of elimination, as suggested above, and from the facts that the daughter of the Indian Trader, John Harris, married a man who spelled his name "John Findlay" (which Draper says was the correct spelling of the name of Boone's pilot), and that this individual had taken up his residence in a place so remote as South Carolina (on the borders of which Daniel Boone dwelt prior to 1769), the writer is inclined to believe that John Finley, Boone's companion, was probably the son-in-law of John Harris.

Finley, as we have seen from Draper's account, had first met Daniel Boone on the Braddock campaign, in which Boone had taken the humble part of a waggoner, accompanying the North Carolina militia. In a letter written by John Harris, Jr., the brother-in-law of John Findlay, to Edward Shippen, dated at Paxtang, Dec. 28, 1754, Mr. Harris says: "This week Captn. Andrew Montour has made his interest so good with my brother, William Harris, as to persuade him to go with him to our camp [Braddock's army, at Will's Creek], and engages that he shall receive a lieutenant's commission under him; upon the strength of which, and the willingness to serve his king and country, he resolves to go. Their Company of white men I expect to have completed by Monday next. They expect to march for Will's Creek by way of Oughwick [George Croghan's station], in order to take a number of Indians with them. . . . Upon my brother's inclining to go, the young men about here enlisted immediately with the small encouragement I gave them, which was but my desire; and I hope that this Company will act their part so well as to

[1] Egle's *Dauphin and Lebanon Counties*, p. 24.

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be a credit to our river men, which almost the whole consists of." Andrew Montour wrote to Richard Peters from Paxtang two days later: "I design to-morrow to march with my Company, men raised here, for Will's Creek, by way of Oughwick."

This was doubtless the manner in which John Finley became attached to Braddock's expedition. After 1755, his trade with the Indians was interrupted for some years. A record in the Pennsylvania *Archives* (vol. i., Sixth Series), shows that a John Finley, born in Ireland, aged thirty-six, was enlisted by Charles McClung in Salisbury Township, Lancaster County, May 25, 1758, for service in the Pennsylvania Regiment. It is possible he may have been the Indian Trader.

After the building of Fort Pitt, Finley seems to have settled there, with George Croghan, and a number of other Cumberland County Traders. In a list of the inhabitants at Fort Pitt, in July, 1760, not belonging to the army, the name of John Finley is given, together with that of Lazarus Lowrey, Edward Ward, William Trent, Hugh Crawford, and more than eighty other men, the greater part of whom were Traders. A second census of Fort Pitt, dated April 14, 1761, shows most of the same persons living there, including Finley, whose house was occupied by two men.

As to John Finley's whereabouts during the next two or three years no records have come under the notice of the writer. Whether or not he was in Fort Pitt during the time of its siege by the Shawnees and Delawares, in June and July, 1763, it has not been possible for the writer to determine. Captain Ecuyer, Commandant of that fort during the siege, wrote to Colonel Bouquet June 2d: "My garrison consists of 250 men, as many regulars as militia." His *Journal* of the siege states that all the inhabitants of the settlement moved into the Fort on May 30th. On June 26th he wrote Bouquet, "The garrison consists of 330 men, all counted, 104 women, 106 children; total 540 mouths, of which 420 receive the provisions of the King." In none of the lists of Traders who were killed or taken during the Pontiac uprising, nor of the Traders at Fort Pitt in 1764, have I been able to find the name of John Finley; though it is quite possible he may have been there. If not, he returned either before or after Bouquet's expedition of 1764 against the Indians at Muskingum, and was at Fort Pitt in the early spring of 1766.

About the beginning of the year 1766, Messrs. Baynton, Wharton & Morgan, of Philadelphia, then the largest firm engaged in the Indian Trade, sent John Jennings to Fort Pitt, with instructions to prepare boats and carry a large cargo of goods down the Ohio River to Fort Chartres, which had been occupied by the English in the latter part of the preceding year.

Joseph Dobson, a trading agent of this firm, wrote to them from

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Fort Pitt on the 26th of January, announcing the arrival of Mr. Jennings. He wrote again from Fort Pitt, March 9, 1766, as follows:

To Mrsss. Benton, Wharton & Morgan:

Gentlemen—This Day Mr. Jennings, Long, and Batteaus Loaded with your Goods, are Sailed for ye Illinois. They might have Gone a week a Go, Butt for Mr. Winston, who has behaved Very ill, and absented himself when most Wanted. I Refer you to Mr. Jennings' Letter to know ye Particulars of his Behaviour. The[y] Could not take all ye Goods; the have left above 40 Bundles, Besides some Kegs with Knives, and some Bundles of Sadles, which I will take Care of till some of you Comes up or Gives Orders for them.

Mr. Jennings' trouble has been Very Great hear, settleing with Every one before he went away; he has Given several Orders on me, which I was Obliged to Accept, to make ye people Easey, to the amount of about 40 pounds, that he might Gett away in pace.

Your Peltry shall be sent By Every Oportunity. . . . Your Carpenters are hear, Butt has not Done much yett. They have one [batteau] on ye Stocks, and are making Ready for a Nother two, I believe will Be Done in about two Weeks. There is None hear. Theare was Butt ye 5 that Mr. Jennings took with him.

Mr. Masionvile is hear, and [Dennis?] Croghan, his interpreter [not George Croghan]. The Did not Go with Mr. Long, as Intended.

I will, accoring to your Desire, use all ye means in my power to Induce ye Carpenters to be Diligent in getting Ready as many Batteaus as the Can against your Coming up.

I have nothing Material to say more, Butt that Mr. Jennings has taken Kiasuta and two more Seneca Chiefs with him, which I Believe was highly Necesary att this time.

I am, Gentlemen, your Most Humb. Servant,

Joseph Dobson.

John Jennings's Journal of this voyage down the Ohio River has been printed in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*.[1] As we have seen from Dobson's letter, Jennings started from Fort Pitt on March 8, 1766. On Sunday, March 9th, he writes: "This morning at seven o'clock, left Long Island [now Neville's Island, seven miles below Pittsburgh] and proceeded down the river, with the five following batteaus, viz., *The Ohio Packet*, which I commanded; *The Beaver*, Captain William Long; *The Dublin*, Joshua Moore; *The Good Intent*, William Davenport; and *The Otter*, John Finley." The expedition reached the mouth of the Ohio on March 28th without serious mishap; although the *Otter* boat lagged behind and had to be lightered during the voyage down. No further reference is made by Jennings to John Finley. Jennings himself remained at Fort Chartres, as store-keeper for Baynton, Morgan & Wharton, until June 24, 1768, when he made a trip down the Mississippi to

[1] Vol. xxxi., p. 145.

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New Orleans, returning to Philadelphia the following October. He was joined at Fort Chartres by George Croghan and George Morgan and their party in the summer of 1766.

How long John Finley remained on the Mississippi we have no means of knowing; but, of course, he returned from there before the close of the year 1768, as he was on the Yadkin at the beginning of 1769. If we can trust Filson as to dates, Finley was in Kentucky in 1767. Filson begins his *History of Kentucky* by saying: "The first white man we have certain accounts of, who discovered this province, was one, James McBride, who, in company with some others, in the year 1754, passing down the Ohio in canoes, landed at the mouth of Kentucky River, and there marked a tree with the first letters of his name, and the date, which remain to this day [1784]. . . . From this period it [Kentucky] remained concealed till about the year 1767, [1752], when one, John Finley, and some others, trading with the Indians, fortunately travelled over the fertile region now called Kentucky. . . . This country greatly engaged Mr. Finley's attention. Some time after, disputes arising between the Indians and Traders, he was obliged to decamp; and returned to his place of residence in North Carolina, where he communicated his discovery to Col. Daniel Boone."

Finley's adventures with Daniel Boone in Kentucky are familiar to English readers the world over; although they are here for the first time fully presented, in Dr. Draper's account. After Finley parted from Boone near the beginning of the year 1770, he is said by Draper to have proceeded by way of the Holston Valley to his home in Pennsylvania. If the writer's surmise is correct, that John Finley, the Trader, was the son-in-law of John Harris, then he probably travelled up the Virginia Valley to Cumberland County, and learned on reaching home, that his wife had died in 1769, during his absence in Carolina and Kentucky. The extract from the London newspaper, dated January 3, 1772, shows that he must have largely increased his resources or his credit after leaving Boone to have been possessed of £500 worth of goods in the latter part of 1771. This would be accounted for if he inherited a portion of the estate of one of the daughters of John Harris, Sr., a Trader himself, who carried on a successful traffic with the Indians for a number of years, and was a large landowner at the time of his death. From the deed executed by John Finley, the surviving husband of Elizabeth Harris, September 20, 1772, it appears that he had inherited a life interest in at least two separate tracts of land.

What became of Finley after 1772 is still undetermined, as it was when Dr. Draper wrote.[1] There is an entry on the court records

[1] The representatives of the family of John Harris, living at Harrisburg to-day, have no knowledge beyond his name, of the John Findlay who married Elizabeth Harris.

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f Washington County, Virginia, still extant, which reads as follows:

At a Court continued and held for Washington County, February 6, 1777. . . . John Finly, making it appear to the satisfaction of the Court of Washington County that he, upon the twentieth day of July, 776, received a wound in the thigh in the battle fought with the Cherokees near the Great Island [in Holston River], and it now appears to the said Court that he, in consequence of said wound, is rendered unable to gain a living by his labor, as formerly; therefore, his case is recommended to the consideration of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

This record has led Mr. John P. Hale, to remark, in his *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers*, "John Finley, the long-time frontiersman and wilderness pilot, being old, and poor, and wounded, asks Washington County, Va., for aid."

While Mr. Hale's assumption may be correct, it is proper to state that there were a number of John Finleys living in Virginia during the middle of the eighteenth century, besides the numerous persons of that name in Pennsylvania. There was a John Finley who was a member of Captain John Smith's company in the Augusta County militia in 1742. John Finley, Sr., and John Finley, Jr., both appear, from Henning's *Statutes*, to have received compensation from the Legislature for services in the Augusta County militia in September, 1758.[1] Indeed, an individual of the same name was a member of the Surry County militia as early as 1687. However, there is another entry on the records of Washington County, Virginia, relating to John Finley of the Holston. It is a conveyance made by him October 31, 1792, of a certain tract of land. He is described as a resident of Knox County, in the territory of the United States southwest of the River Ohio. This instrument recites: "This land patented to John Finley, 22 October 1785, on the head waters of the East Fork of Wallen's Branch of the waters of the North Fork of the Holston, adjoining lands of George Finley" (Deed Book 1, p. 305). The Book of Land Entries (2, p. 295) mentions Finley as "having proved to the court that he was entitled to the same [premises], by actual settlement made in 1774, this first day of Sept., 1781."

The records of Lord Dunmore's War show that John Finley of Watauga was a member of Captain Evan Shelby's company of militia in 1774.

This was doubtless the John Finley who took part in the battle of

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Possibly some of the descendants of Captain William Patterson, or of William Wurtz, if any are living, might be able to throw some light on this question.

[1] See also, *West Va. Hist. Mag.*, iii., 131.

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the Great Island; but whether or not he was John Finley the Indian Trader would be very difficult to prove.

In Mr. H. Addington Bruce's recent book on *Daniel Boone, and the Wilderness Road* (N. Y., 1910), that writer states that one Stephen Pomeroy, the first settler in what is now Huntsburg, Geauga County, Ohio, found living there in 1808, when he first went to that country, a trapper and Trader named John Finley, whose place of residence was on a stream still known as Finley Creek; and who told Pomeroy, according to the statement of his great-grandson, that he had been with Boone in Kentucky, and had fought under Wayne. Mr. Bruce states that this John Finley enlisted in the War of 1812, returned to Huntsburg after that war, and, about 1818, removed, it was thought, to Maryland.

As John Finley, the Trader who led Boone into Kentucky, must have been born about 1720, it is scarcely probable that he could have been in active military service at the age of ninety or more; or that he was a trapper and Trader at the age of eighty-eight or thereabouts.

The first authenticated record of the visit of white men to the territory now comprising the State of Kentucky, if we except the probable residence there of Arnold Viele and his party from Esopus in 1693, was that of the French party which descended the Ohio, at least as far as the Big Bone Lick, in 1729. The 1744 map of Nicholas Bellin published in Charlevoix's *New France*, and reproduced in this volume, contains an inscription at a point south of the Ohio River and near the "Falls," stating, *endroit où on a trouve des os d'Elephant en 1729*. While "they" may have been Indians, it is more probable that it means Frenchmen. Darlington states that this party (or another party in the same year), was led from Fort Niagara down the Allegheny and Ohio as far as the mouth of the Big Miami, by Chaussegros de Lery, engineer of the Niagara fortifications, which had been begun two or three years before 1729. This statement was based on the record in Bellin's *Remarques* on his map of 1755, already quoted in Chapter V. of this volume. As there pointed out, Darlington confused De Lery's expedition of 1729 with that of Celoron, twenty years later, which went down the Ohio only to the mouth of the Big Miami. De Lery's expedition went down at least as far as the Big Bone Lick, and probably to the Falls, or below.

A second French expedition, under the Baron de Longueuil, Major of Montreal, traversed the whole course of the Ohio below Conewango Creek in the summer of 1739; and this party in all probability must have encamped on the southern side of the river during its progress along the Kentucky shore.

The history of this expedition of Longueuil, or so much of it as

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has been preserved, has already been given. It was the first white war party to travel on the Ohio, and its full history, if we could recover it, would have more romantic interest than that of any other flotilla that has passed down the Ohio from that day to this. Among the officers who accompanied this party were Major de Lignery, Lieutenants, de Vassan, Aubert de Gaspe, Du Vivier, de Verrier, Le Gardeur de St. Pierre, Chevalier de Villiers, de Portneuf, de Sabrevois; Father Vernet, chaplain; Cadets, Joncaire de Closonne, Le Gai de Joncaire, Drouet de Richarville the younger, Chaussegros de Lery the younger, de Gannes, Chev. Benoist, de Morville, de Selles, and seventeen others. The rank and file consisted of three sergeants, six corporals, six lance corporals, twenty-four soldiers, forty-five *habitants*, one hundred and eighty-six Iroquois from the Saut, fifty-one from the Lake of the Two Mountains, thirty-two Algonquins and Nipissings, fifty Abenaquis from St. François and Becancour; Father La Bretonnier, Jesuit, Queret, missionary.

Besides these Frenchmen, we may be sure that the Kentucky soil was trod by James Le Tort, who traded near the mouth of the Kanawha many years before 1740; as well as by numerous others of the Allegheny Traders whose names appear in these pages. Unfortunately for our purpose, these Traders have left no written records behind them. The first record of an Englishman's visit to the shores of Kentucky is that of John Peter Salley, a Pennsylvania German. In company with John Howard, Josiah Howard, Charles Sinclair, and two others, Salley claimed to have started March 16, 1742, from his house in Augusta County, five miles from Cedar Creek, near the Natural Bridge, proceeding thence to the Kanawha, where they built a boat frame and covered it with the hides of five buffaloes. They used this boat for a voyage of two hundred and fifty-two miles down the river, until they were obliged to abandon it on account of the falls. Taking a southwest course by land, Salley says they travelled eighty-five miles, and then came to another small river, where they built a boat large enough to carry two men and their provisions. The balance of the party travelled by land for two days, until they came to a large river, a tributary of the Kanawha, where they enlarged their boat sufficiently to carry their entire party. They then travelled down to the Kanawha River and ninety-two miles below the mouth of this branch, where they entered the Ohio, four hundred and forty-four miles above the "Great Falls." Proceeding down the Ohio, they reached the Mississippi, and were eventually captured by a party of French and Indians, who carried them to New Orleans. Here they were thrown into prison, and kept for eighteen months. They escaped in October, 1744, and after many vicissitudes, marvellous adventures, and a perilous journey through the wilderness, they finally reached the house

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of one, "Finlas, an Indian Trader, who lives among the Uchees."[1] On the first of March they arrived at Fort Augustus, in Georgia; and, after being again captured by the French and released, finally reached home in May, 1745.

The adventures of Howard's party, as related by Salley, were so remarkable that there is some doubt as to whether or not his account is based on facts. His story was made use of, however, by the British in their disputes with France, to bolster up the English claim to the Ohio Valley. Like some of the evidence, on the other side, as to La Salle having descended the Ohio in 1669, Salley's *Narrative* looks as if it might have been manufactured, in part at least, for that specific purpose.

Peter Chartier also, who, with his Shawnees, fled down the Ohio from Chartier's Town in 1745, was undoubtedly an early Trader on the soil of Kentucky. An account of the village of Eskippakithiki, built by his band on Lulbegrud Creek, as given by Dr. Lyman C. Draper in his manuscript *Life of Boone*, is as follows:

"This Town is evidently the one laid down on Evans's map, between Licking and Kentucky Rivers, and called by the uncouth name of Es-kip-pa-ki-thi-ki. It was directly on the route of the Great Warriors' Road, leading from the Ohio southward through Cumberland Gap; and was doubtless the Town alluded to by Franklin when he asserted (*Ohio Settlement*, p. 44) that 'in the year 1752, the Six Nations, Shawanese, and Delawares had a large Town on Kentucky River.'

"This Indian town was settled under the following circumstances. Peter Chartier, a half-breed Shawanoe, and a Trader of considerable influence, debauched a portion of the Shawanoes into the French interest; and, after seizing a couple of Indian Traders and plundering them of goods to the value of sixteen hundred pounds, they left the rest of their nation, near the Forks of the Ohio, early in 1745, and commenced the settlement of this town of Es-kip-pa-ki-thi-ki. Prosperity attended the colony for two or three years, but roving bands of Northern Indians found out their new location, and killed and harassed them continually. The Shawanoes of the Forks of Ohio hearing of these attacks on their wayward brethren, and commiserating their misfortunes, urged their speedy return; but the disorganizers, with Chartier at their head, resolutely refused, believing that the injuries done them had been at the instigation of their brethren at the Forks of Ohio, in order to dishearten them in their isolated home and compel their early return to the great body of the nation. The depredations of their enemies—probably the Iroquois, who claimed the country by former conquest, and hence warred upon all intruders—increasing, the Shawanoes, numbering about four hundred

[1] William Atchison Finley was the name of a "constable of the Creeks," in 1747. See *Georgia Col. Rec.*, vi., 187.

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Indian Old Fields at the Site of Eskippakithiki, or " Blue Lick Town."

Indian burying-ground in the distance. The level land known as the Indian Fields covers about 3000 acres of land on Lulbegrud Creek. The Iroquois name, *Kenta-ke*, meaning " Many Fields," or " Prairie," being applied to these Indian Fields before 1752, afterwards became the name of the State in which they are situated.

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and fifty souls, abandoned Es-kip-pa-ki-thi-ki; and betaking themselves to their canoes, passed down Lulbegrud Creek and Red River into Kentucky, thence descending the Ohio, and ascending the Tennessee to Occachappo or Bear Creek, and up that stream thirty miles, where they left their canoes, and commenced an unprovoked war upon the Chickasaws, killing several of that nation. This warlike people quickly resented this dastardly conduct, embodied and drove off this vagabond band of intruders, who retired among the Creeks, and settled a town seventy miles above the French Alabama Garrison, and between the Creek towns of Ooe-asa and Coosa.

"Several of the Shawanoe chiefs, with a band of followers, retraced their weary steps, in 1748, to their brethren on the Ohio; and the others, after residing awhile among the Creeks, and still restless, commenced their return northwardly. They tarried for a season on Cumberland River, where several French Traders located amongst them, and hence the locality subsequently became known as the French Lick, now the site of the city of Nashville. Here the Chickasaws found them rudely fortified, and attacked them on the morning of the 5th of April, 1756, killing twenty of the Shawanoes, and, seizing two hundred and forty head of horses, returned in triumph to their nation; and these were the first horses ever possessed by the Chickasaws. The Shawanoes, whose numbers were now estimated at two hundred and seventy, made their way down Cumberland River, the women, children, aged and disabled men, in canoes, and the warriors as a guard along shore; intending to rejoin their brethren, who were now located on the Ohio, chiefly at the Lower Shawanoe Town, at the mouth of the Scioto; but when they entered the Ohio, the heavy spring flood was rolling down, against which their progress was so slow and tedious, that they stopped a few miles below the mouth of the Wabash, at the present locality of Shawneetown, Illinois. Remaining there awhile, the French Traders and Kaskaskia Indians invited them to take up their abode at Kaskaskia, which they did a couple of years, when a strong deputation of their Shawanoe brethren arrived, conducted them back by water to their kindred and friends, when a re-union was effected after an eventful separation of sixteen years. The distinguished Shawanoe chief Catahecassa, or Black Hoof, then quite a young warrior, was with his clan in all their wanderings; and when he visited the Lulbegrud region, in 1815 or '16, he could readily point out and accurately describe the ancient locality of Es-kip-pa-ki-thi-ki, and all the surrounding country.

"After the departure of Chartier and the Shawanoes from Es-kip-pa-ki-thi-ki, a few must have remained during each hunting season, or large hunting parties frequently resorted there, or more probably both,

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to have made it an object for so many Traders to repair to that point, at the time of Findley's visit and decampment [in 1752-53]."[1]

In March, 1751, Christopher Gist received from the employes of Robert Smith, a Trader at Pickawillany, two of whom he met on the Ohio River about eighteen miles below the Lower Shawnee Town, two teeth of a mastodon, which, Robert Smith had previously informed him, were found at the Big Bone Lick south of the Ohio seven years before. This would indicate the presence of English Traders in that part of Kentucky as early as 1744.

The first of the explorers of Kentucky who has left on record a detailed account of his journey was Dr. Thomas Walker, who, in the interest of the Loyal Land Company of London and Virginia, started from his house in Albemarle County, Virginia, March 6, 1750, "to go to the Westward in order to discover a proper place for settlement." He was accompanied by Ambrose Powell, William Tomlinson, Colby Chew, Henry Lawless, and John Hughes. On March 21st the party reached Reedy Creek and encamped near the house of James McCall. This was on the New River, not far from the present Wytheville. From here the party proceeded down the stream towards the Holston Middle Fork, reaching the camp of Samuel Stalnaker on the 23d. Under date of March 24, 1750, Dr. Walker writes: "April, 1748, I met the above-mentioned Stalnaker between the Reedy Creek Settlement and Holston's River, on his way to the Cherokee Indians." The party followed Reedy Creek to where it joins the Holston, at the foot of Long Island, reaching that point March 31st. "We went down the River to the North Fork, and up the North Fork about a quarter of a mile, to a ford, and then crossed it. In the Fork between Holston's and the North River, are five Indian houses built with logs and covered with bark, and there were abundance of bones, some whole pots and pans, some broken, and many pieces of mats and cloth. On the west side of the North River, is four Indian houses such as before mentioned. We went four miles below the North River and camped on the bank of Holston's, opposite to a large Indian Fort."

Walker writes that they left the Holston on April 2d, and travelled to a rocky ridge (Clinch Mountain), which they crossed on the 5th, (probably at Looney's Gap), "and camped on a small branch, about a mile from the top." Here they remained, on account of wet weather, until the 7th. On that day they travelled eight miles "over broken land," and remained in camp over the 8th, which was Sunday. On the

[1] Evans's *Map and Analysis*, 1755; *Pa. Col. Records;* Gordon's *Hist. Pa.;* Rupp's *Hist., West. Pa.;* Haywood's *Tennessee;* Adair's *Southern Indians;* 2, 3, 156, 410; *Md. Gas.*, July 5th, and Aug. 2d., 1759; MS. Statement of Jos. Ficklin, Esq., derived from *Black Hoof;* MS. letter of Wm. Flanagan, Esq.—L. C. D.

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9th, "We travelled to a river which I suppose to be that which the hunters call Clinches River, from one, Clinch, a hunter, who first found it." They built a raft and crossed this stream, camping five miles below the crossing place on the night of the 10th. "April 11th. Having travelled 5 miles to and over an high mountain, we came to Turkey Creek [now Big Sycamore Creek], which we kept down 4 miles. It lies between two ridges of mountains, that to the eastward being the highest. 12th. We kept down the Creek 2 miles further, where it meets with a large branch coming from the southwest, and thence runs through the east ridge, making a very good pass; and a large Buffalo Road goes from that Fork to the Creek over the west ridge, which we took, and found the ascent and descent tolerably easy. From the mountain we rode four miles to Bear-Grass River [now Powell's River]. . . . April 13th. We went four miles to a large creek, which we called Cedar Creek, being a branch of Bear-Grass, and from thence six miles to Cave Gap [named later by Dr. Walker, Cumberland Gap], the land being level. On the north side of the Gap is a large spring, which falls very fast, and just above the spring is a small entrance to a large cave, which the spring runs through. . . . On the south side is a plain Indian Road. On the top of the Ridge are laurel trees marked with crosses, others blazed, and several figures on them. . . . This Gap may be seen at a considerable distance, and there is no other that I know of, except one about two miles to the north of it [a depression but not a pass], which does not appear to be so low as the other. The Mountain on the north side of the Gap is very steep and rocky, but on the south side it is not so. We called it Steep Ridge. At the foot of the hill on the northwest side, we came to a branch that made a great deal of flat land. We kept down it 2 miles, several other branches coming in to make it a large creek; and we called it Flat Creek [now Yellow Creek]. . . . We rode 13 miles this day. April 14th. We kept down the Creek 5 miles, chiefly along the Indian Road. 15th. Easter Sunday. Being in bad grounds for our horses, we moved 7 miles along the Indian Road to Clover [now Clear] Creek. April 16th. Rain . . . 17th. Still rain. I went down the Creek a hunting, and found that it went into a river about a mile below our camp. This, which is Flat Creek and some others joined, I called Cumberland River. 18th. Still cloudy. We kept down the Creek to the River, along the Indian Road to where it crosses. Indians have lived about this ford some years ago."

This was the place where the Great Warriors' Path, leading from the mouth of the Scioto, crossed the Cumberland River, and joining the trail down which Dr. Walker and his party at this time travelled, passed through Cumberland Gap, and thence to the country of the Catawbas and the Cherokees. Mr. J. Stoddard Johnston, from whose edition of

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Walker's *Journal*[1] these excerpts are taken, says that this ford was long known as Cumberland Ford, the crossing of the Indian War-path and the Wilderness Road, blazed by Boone in 1775. "This crossing was just below the present Pineville Station of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, and the bridge which crosses from it to Pineville, the county-seat of Bell County, immediately opposite."

Walker's party travelled down the south side of the Cumberland some fifteen miles and camped on the river bank again on April 20th at the mouth of Licking Creek (now Swan Pond Creek—so named by Daniel Boone). Here they remained a few days, built a canoe, and, on the 23d, Walker, Powell, and Chew crossed the river to the north side, leaving the others in camp, "to provide and salt some bear, build an house, and plant some peach-stones and corn." This camp was located about four miles below the present site of Barbourville, Knox County, Kentucky.

From the 23d to the 25th of April, Walker travelled in a west and southwest direction, a distance which he computed to be thirty-six miles, reaching Cumberland River again at the mouth of Rocky Creek [now Patterson's Creek], about twenty miles below where he had crossed to the north bank on the 23d. On the 26th, he "went up the north side of the River eight miles, and camped on a small branch."

"April 27th. We crossed Indian [now Maple] Creek, and went down Meadow Creek [still so called] to the River. There comes in another from the southward as big as this we are on. Below the mouth of this Creek, and above the mouth [of the other?] are the remains of several Indian cabins, and amongst them a round hill, made by art, about 20 feet high and 60 over the top."

Mr. Johnston states that a mound, corresponding to the one here described by Dr. Walker, though reduced in size, was still in existence in 1898, near the bank of the Cumberland, west of Meadow Creek, on the Evans farm, in Whitley County.

This may possibly have been the site either of Chaskepe, Meguatchaiki, or Cisca, the three Shawnee towns located near the Skipakicipi (Cumberland) River on Franquelin's map of 1684, at the head of the "Path taken by the Casquinampos and Shawnees in trading with the Spaniards" of Florida.

Walker kept up the river the next day, and reached the camp where he had left the other members of his company. "The people I left," he writes, "had built an house, 12 by 8, cleared and broke up some ground, and planted corn and peach-stones."

On the 30th the entire party crossed the river, and proceeded in a northerly direction to the head waters of the Rockcastle River, where,

[1] *First Explorations of Kentucky* (Journals of Walker and Gist), Filson Club, 1898.

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on May 1st, they reached and travelled "along an Indian Road, much frequented, to a mouth of a creek on the west side of the River, where we camped. The Indian Road goes up the Creek, and I think it is that which goes through Cave Gap."[1] Between the 1st of May and the 11th, they travelled as far north and west as to Hughes' Fork of Rockcastle River, in the present county of Rockcastle. Here they remained for three or four days, sheltered by a rocky cave or depression, and made new moccasins of elk-skin. Leaving their *rock castle* on the 14th, they travelled in a northeasterly direction into what is now Jackson County. On the 17th they camped on a branch of Naked Creek, a stream which Mr. Johnston thinks was probably the Laurel Fork of Middle Fork of Rockcastle River, in Jackson County.

"May 18th. We went up Naked Creek to the head, and had a plain Buffalo Road most of the way [the Great Warriors' Path]. From thence we proceeded down Wolf Creek, and on it we camped. 19th. We kept down ye Creek to Hunting Creek, which we crossed and left. . . . 22d. We went down the branch to Hunting Creek, and kept it to Milley's River."

Milley's River was the same as the Kentucky River. Johnston identifies Hunting Creek with Station Camp Creek, which empties into the Kentucky just above Irvine, county-seat of Estill County. "At the mouth of this creek," he says, "Daniel Boone lived alone in 1770, while his brother, Squire Boone, returned to North Carolina for ammunition, and there they spent the following winter. The Indian trace up Station Camp Creek was known as 'Ouasiota Pass,' and when they reached the summit they thought they were on top of the Cumberland Mountains, the name, 'Ouasiota' Mountains being given to that range, together with all the elevated region eastwardly to the main chain."

Mr. Johnston is of the opinion that the Ouasiota Gap was at this place, and was not identical with the Cumberland Gap. He notes that "Ouasiota Pass" is laid down on Pownall's 1776 map, with routes converging to it from the Big Bone Lick, the Lower Shawnee Town, and the mouth of the Totteroy or Big Sandy; and quotes Evans and Hutchins, the former of whom wrote that the Northern Indians "land at Sanduski, and go by a direct path to the Lower Shawnee Town, and thence to the Gap of Ouasiota, on their way to the Cuttawas' country"; and the latter

[1] This was afterwards the route of Boone's Trace and the Old Wilderness Road. It left the Great Warriors' Path about fifty miles north of Cumberland Gap, and bore off in a westerly direction to the "Hazel Patch," on Laurel River; thence up Rockcastle River and Roundstone Creek, through Boone's Gap in Big Hill (Madison County); thence down Otter Creek to its mouth at Kentucky River. About one mile below the mouth of Otter Creek, Boone built his stockade, and called it Boonesborough. See Filson's map of Kentucky, printed in this volume.

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of whom, in describing the Kentucky River, states that it is "passable with small boats to the Gap, where the war-path goes through the Ouasiota Mountains."

Dr. Walker's party attempted to go down or up the Kentucky River from the mouth of Station Camp Creek, but were unable to proceed either way. They then built a bark canoe on the 23d and 24th, and crossed to the north bank of the Kentucky. Thence they travelled in a northeasterly course, and on the 28th came to the Red River or Warriors' Fork of the Kentucky at a point between the present Clay City and Stanton, in Powell County, and some fifteen to twenty miles east from the Indian Old Fields and from Lulbegrud Creek, near which Boone, Finley, and their companions lived in 1769. Thus, without knowing it, they passed very near the Shawnee town of Eskippakithiki, which stood on Lulbegrud Creek from 1745 to 1753, or later; and thus they just missed the knowledge of the beautiful country lying between the Kentucky River and the Licking.

Travelling east up the North Fork of Red River, they "crossed a mountain and went through a Gap," on June 1st, and camped "on the head of a branch." The next day they went down the branch to a river, seventy yards wide, which Walker named Frederick's River. This was the present Licking River, which they reached near the site of Salyersville, Magoffin County. On the 7th they came to a river, one hundred yards across, which they called Louisa River, now West or Louisa Fork of the Big Sandy. On the 14th they camped on top of the divide between the waters of Louisa and Tug Forks of the Sandy. On June 19th they got to Laurel Creek, one of the head waters of Tug Fork; and on the 28th, camped on the "New River, just below the mouth of Green Bryer," the present site of Hinton, Summers County, West Virginia. From here the party followed the trail up the Greenbriar River, crossed the Alleghany divide on the 8th of July, spent the 9th at Hot Springs, and reached home on the 13th. Dr. Walker concludes his *Journal* by stating that his company killed during the journey, thirteen buffaloes, eight elks, fifty-three bears, twenty deer, four wild geese, about one hundred and fifty turkeys, besides small game.

In February, 1843, Daniel Bryan, a nephew of Daniel Boone, and then about eighty-six years of age, furnished Dr. Lyman C. Draper with an account of Walker's travels in Kentucky, which he got from the mouth of William Tomlinson, one of Walker's companions. This account was in part as follows:

They started from low down in Virginia, travelled westwardly across Allegheny Mountains to Chissel's Lead Mine, on New River; thence into the Holston Valley; thence down the Valley to Moccasin Gap in Clinch Mountain; thence over Walden's Ridge and Powell's Mountain

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into Powell's Valley. Powell's Mountain, Valley, and River took their name from this same Ambrose Powell. They then continued down the Valley, leaving Cumberland Mountain a small distance on their right hand, until they came to Cumberland Gap. This Mountain and River Dr. Walker called Cumberland in memory of Lord Cumberland, of England. At the foot of this Mountain they fell into an Indian Path leading from the Cherokee towns on Tennessee River to the Shawnee Indian towns on the Ohio; which Path they followed down Yellow Creek to the old ford of Cumberland River. . . . Thence they went on the Path down the River to the Flat Lick, eight miles; here they left the River, turning more north, crossing some of the head branches of the Kentucky River over a poor and hilly country, until they concluded there was no good country in the West. They then took an easterly course over the worst mountains and laurel thickets in the world, having to cut the laurel thickets with their tomahawks in order to pass through. They crossed the Laurel or Cumberland Mountain and fell into the Greenbriar country; almost starved to death; they were obliged to eat their dog to keep from famishing, and reached home with life only to pay for all their trouble and suffering.

The next explorer of Kentucky after Dr. Walker and his party, was Christopher Gist, the surveyor employed by the Ohio Company of Virginia to make a report on the lands lying to the westward of the mountains. In the chapter on the Lower Shawnee Town we have followed Gist in his travels to that point. From there he made a visit to the Pickawillany town of the Miami Indians, located on the Great Miami River; and returned to Lower Shawnee Town on March 8, 1751. The next day, "In the Shawnee Town," Gist writes, "I met with one of the Mingo chiefs, who had been down to the Falls of the Ohio [now the site of Louisville]. . . . He told that there was a party of French Indians hunting at the Falls, and if I went there they would certainly kill me or carry me away prisoner to the French; for it is certain they would not let me pass. However, as I had a great inclination to see the Falls and the land on the east [south] side the Ohio, I resolved to venture as far as possible."

Gist accordingly crossed the Ohio to the Kentucky side on the 12th of March, and the next day, accompanied by the negro boy whom he had brought with him from Maryland, he reached a point on the Ohio about eighteen miles below the mouth of the Scioto ("S. 45 W. 8 m. then S. 10 m.") Here he met Hugh Crawford the Trader, and two employes of Robert Smith, another Trader. They delivered to Gist two mastodon's teeth, "which they were bringing from [Big Bone Lick] towards the Falls." He also met four Shawnees coming up the river in their canoes, who informed Gist that there were some sixty French Indians encamped at the Falls. On the 14th he travelled "down the river S. 15 miles," and on the 15th, "S. 5 m. SW. 10 m., to a creek that was so high that we

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could not get over that night. 16th. S. 45 W. about 35 m. 17th. The same course 15 m., then N. 45 W. 5 m. 18th. N. 45 W. 5 m., then SW. 20 m., to the lower Salt Lick Creek, which Robert Smith and the Indians told me was about 15 m. above the Falls of the Ohio. . . . I concluded not to go to the Falls, but travelled away to the southward till we were over the Little Cuttawa [*i.e.*, Little Cherokee, now the Kentucky] River. . . . After I had determined not to go to the Falls, we turned from Salt Lick Creek to a ridge of mountains that made towards the Cuttawa River, and from the top of the mountain we saw a fine level country SW. as far as our eyes could behold, and it was a very clear day; we then went down the mountain and set S. out 20 W. about 5 m. thro' rich level land. . . . March 19th. We set out S. and crossed several creeks running to the SW.; at about 12 m. came to the Little Cuttawa River. We were obliged to go up it about 1 m. to an island, which was the shoalest place we could find to cross at. We then continued our course, in all about 30 m. through rich level land, except about 2 m. which was broken and indifferent. This level is about 35 m. broad, and as we came up the side of it along the branches of the Little Cuttawa, we found it about 150 m. long; and how far towards the SW. we could not tell, but imagined it held as far as the Great Cuttawa [Cherokee, *i.e.*, the present Tennessee] River, which would be upwards of 100 miles more, and appeared much broader that way than here, as I could discern from the tops of the mountains."

It is impossible to determine from Gist's courses and distances between the 13th and 19th of March just what part of Kentucky he travelled over, for the reason that on the 14th, he states that he travelled "down the River [Ohio] south 15 miles," from the point he had reached the day before, which was eighteen miles below the mouth of the Scioto. From this point the river runs west and northwest; so that if Gist travelled down the river, he did not go south; and if he travelled south, he did not go down the river, but away from it. It has been suggested that some of the courses and distances as given in the printed *Journal* are either errors in transcription or in printing.

The first printed edition of Gist's *Journal* was that of Thomas Pownall (London, 1776), which appeared in connection with Pownall's edition of Lewis Evans's map of 1755, and Analysis of the same, published for the use of the British army in its campaigns against the American Revolutionists. Pownall has traced on the Evans map a dotted line, showing the supposed route of Gist through Kentucky. He has also traced the supposed course of the Ohio River, made to coincide with Gist's courses below the Lower Shawnee Town; and has erroneously made the river to run southwest from the Scioto to the mouth of "Little Salt Lick," beyond the Little Miami, when, as a matter of fact, it runs

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west and northwest. Pownall thought that Gist travelled almost directly south from Lower Shawnee Town nearly to the crossing of Great Salt Lick (Licking River); thence southwest, crossing the "Path to the Cuttawas' Country" (Great Warriors' Road) about fifteen miles above the Shawnee town of Eskippakithiki (which was located on Lulbegrud Creek, on or near the site of the present hamlet of Indian Fields, in the eastern corner of Clark County); and to the head waters of "Little Salt Lick"; thence northwest and southwest nearly to the mouth of that creek, where he crossed; thence south to and across the Kentucky River; thence east across the South Fork of that river to the pass which led to the Ouasiota Mountains (the mouth of Station Camp Creek); thence south by way of that pass to the head of Station Camp Creek; thence east by northeast above the head waters of the Holston into Virginia.

Mr. William Darlington, in his edition of Gist's *Journals* (Pittsburgh, 1893), was of the opinion that Gist reached a point near the site of Vanceburgh on the 13th of March; near the site of Washington, Mason County, on the 14th; crossed the Licking River at the Lower Blue Licks on the 15th, having "travelled thus far by an old trail from the Ohio"; through the present counties of Hamilton (misprint for Harrison), Nicholas, Scott, and Franklin, to the Kentucky River, or near it, above Frankfort, on the 16th; and by the 18th to the Lower Salt Lick, "now known as Salt River," possibly at what was known later as Bullitt's Licks, in Bullitt County, but more probably at the Lick on Floyd's branch of Salt River, where Floydsburgh, Oldham County, now stands. On the 19th, Darlington supposed, Gist crossed the Bullskin, Gist's and other branches of Brashear's Creek in Shelby County, and, reaching the Kentucky River about where the city of Frankfort now stands, crossed at the island above, thence southeast through the present counties of Woodford and Fayette to the border of Clark.

The latest editor of Gist's Kentucky *Journal*, Mr. J. Stoddard Johnston (Filson Club, Louisville, 1898), says that it is easy to determine where Gist did not go. "He did not follow the Ohio and cross the Licking at its mouth. . . . Nor did he go to Big Bone Lick, as Pownall states [Pownall, on his map, shows that Gist did not go there]. . . . He was not on the 18th at Bullitt's Lick, fifteen miles south of the Falls, as others [Darlington] claim. . . . I am of the opinion that he was at the Lower Blue Licks, or the Olympian Springs, in Bath County, both an hundred miles from the Falls as the crow flies. . . . It is most probable that he skirted the Blue-grass region to the Upper Kentucky River, and passed from the Red River, which was known as the Warriors' Fork, to the North Fork, and thence found his way through Pound Gap. He then passed in a general course eastward down what is known as Gist's or Guesse's Fork of the Clinch, in Wise County, Virginia, and passing

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the divide, came upon the waters of the Bluestone, a tributary of New River."

The distances he travelled, as given by Gist, from the time he left the Lower Shawnee Town to the night of March 19th, aggregate one hundred and sixty-three miles, the last seventeen of which were on the south side of the Kentucky. His general course was to the southwest. From his camp of the 19th, Gist went to the top of a mountain on the following day, to view the country, and found that "to the SE. it looked very broken and mountainous, but to the eastward and SW. it appeared very level."

Mr. Johnston thinks that this mountain was probably Pilot Knob, a few miles north of Clay City, Powell County, referring to which same mountain Daniel Boone is quoted by Filson as stating that "On the seventh of June [1769] we found ourselves on Red River, where John Finley had formerly been trading with the Indians, and from the top of an eminence saw with pleasure the beautiful level of Kentucky."

It seems rather improbable that Gist could have been on or near Pilot Knob at this time, for the reason that the northern spur of this mountain, which has an altitude of three hundred to four hundred feet above the surrounding country, is but three miles distant from and overlooks the present hamlet of Indian Old Fields, situated on Lulbegrud Creek, in the eastern corner of Clark County. These Indian Old Fields are in all probability the site of the Shawnee town of Eskippakithiki, which stood on Lulbegrud Creek from about 1745 until 1753 or later, and which was occupied as a place of residence by the Shawnees and other Indians very nearly all of that time. That it was so occupied at the very time when Gist was in the vicinity seems probable from the facts set forth in a deposition made February 27, 1777, by George Croghan, the Trader, who had accompanied Gist in his journey as far as to the Lower Shawnee Town. This deposition reads in part as follows:

The Deponent being first sworn, &c., Deposeth—That in the year 1750 or 1751 [the winter of 1750–51], he then being trading among the Shawanese at the mouth of Scioto, he saw several Shawanese and Cherokees [Gist himself speaks of meeting some of them while he was at Pickawillany, as will appear in the following chapter], who had just come over the Allegheny Mountain from the Cherokee Country; on which a Council was called of all the Indians thereabouts, when the Shawanese informed the chiefs of their nation who resided at Scioto, that they were returned from the Cherokee Nation, and had left their women and children, with several of their young men *at the Blue Licks on Kentucke River* [the Upper and Lower Blue Licks are near the Licking River, the Little Blue Licks, in Madison County, are near the Kentucky River], where they intended to reside and hunt that season; then added, pointing to the Cherokees: "those Cherokees are about fifty or sixty in number, and have come over

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with us to solicit you to make up a difference subsisting between them and the Wiandots." There were at the Council several Wiandots, Delawares, and Six Nations. The Cherokees then addressed themselves to the Six Nations, and requested they might have liberty to hunt between the Allegheny Mountain [Cumberland Range] and the Ohio for the season; as they knew the country belonged to them.

Gist left his camp of March 19th on the 21st and travelled S. 45 E. 15 m., S. 5 m.; on the 22d, SE. 12 m.; 24th (he stayed in camp on the 23d), E. 2m., NE. 3m., N. 1m., E. 2m., SE. 5m., E. 2m., N. 2m., SE. 7m., "to a small creek, where we encamped. . . . The reason for our making so many short courses was, we were driven by a branch of the Little Cuttawa [Kentucky] River (whose banks were so exceedingly steep that it was impossible to ford it) into a ledge of rocky laurel mountains which were almost impassible." The next day, "set out SE. 12m., N. 2m., E. 1m., S. 4m., SE. 2m. We killed a buck elk here, and took out his tongue to carry with us." On the 26th he travelled twenty miles, three on SW. courses and seventeen SE. "These two days we travelled through rocks and mountains full of laurel thickets which we could hardly creep through without cutting our way." Gist remained in camp to rest on the 27th, travelling 15m. SE. on the 28th, "crossing creeks of the Little Cuttawa River;" and the same course, twelve miles, on the following day. He rested his horses again on the 30th, and covered fifteen miles SE. on the 31st. On Monday, April 1st, he "set out about the same course, about 20m. Part of the way we went along a Path, up the side of a little creek, at the head of which was a Gap in the mountains; then our Path went down another Creek to a lick." He proceeded S. 2m., SE. 1m., NE. 3m., on the 2d; and on the 3d, "S. 1m., SW. 3m., E. 3m., SE. 2m., to a small creek on which was a large Warriors' Camp [abandoned], that would contain 70 or 80 warriors; their captain's name or title was The Crane, as I knew by his picture or arms painted on a tree."[1] Gist remained in camp for two days at this place, and on the 6th, "went along the Warriors' Road S. 1m., SE. 3m., S. 2m., SE. 3m., E. 3m."

From the 21st of March to the 6th of April, Gist travelled about one hundred and sixty-five miles, in a general southeastern direction, passing from the waters of the Red River to those of the North Fork of Kentucky, through the counties of Powell, Lee, Breathitt, Perry, and Letcher; thence through Pound Gap, or Stony Gap, about twelve miles southeast of Whitesburg, in Letcher County, to the head of Pound Fork of the Big Sandy River, in Wise County, Virginia. The Warriors' Camp, which he reached on April 3d, Mr. Darlington locates on the stream called Indian Creek, the middle head fork of the Big Sandy, in Wise County. Evans's and Pownall's maps both show an Indian trail leading

[1] There was a Crane clan in the Miami tribe, and a Heron clan in the Seneca tribe.

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from the mouth of Guyandot Creek on the Ohio, to and up the east side of the Totteroy or Big Sandy, thence across that stream and southwest to the beginning of the Ouasiota Pass at the mouth of the present Station Camp Creek on the Kentucky River. In John Jennings's "Journal from Fort Pitt to Fort Chartres"[1] (March–April, 1766), that traveller writes under date of March 12th: "At twelve passed by Gyandot Creek. Here the Six Nations Indians throw away their canoes when they go to war against the southern Indians. At half-past one o'clock in the afternoon passed Tottery, or Big Sandy Creek [eleven miles below the mouth of the Guyandot]." This Warriors' Road which was travelled by the Iroquois, should be distinguished from the Great Warriors' Road which led from the mouth of the Scioto by way of the Blue Licks and Lulbegrud Creek to the point on the Kentucky River where the pass through the Ouasiota Mountains began. The latter trail was that generally followed by the Shawnees and Wyandots in their war expeditions against the Catawbas and Cherokees.

The final episode in the early history of Kentucky was that of the capture of the Traders by the French Indians near the Little Pict Town or Eskippakithiki, at the time when John Finley was robbed at that town. The letter from William Trent, dated Virginia, April 10, 1753, printed in the middle part of this chapter, relates that "fifty odd Ottawas, Conewagos [French Mohawks], one Dutchman, and one of the Six Nations, that was their captain, met with some of our people at a place called Kentucky, on this side Allegheny River, about one hundred and fifty miles from the Lower Shawanese Town. They took eight prisoners, five belonging to Mr. Croghan and me, the others to Lowry. They took three or four hundred pounds [£300 or £400] of goods from us. One of them [James Lowrey] made his escape after he had been a prisoner three days."

The history of this affair is best told in the words of the victims themselves, and their accounts are here given in the same way that they were first brought to the attention of the Pennsylvania Government. At a meeting of the Pennsylvania Council held August 7, 1753, there was read a letter from George Clinton, Governor of New York, in which he stated that "Some of our Indian Traders were taken prisoners by a party of Cognawago, or Praying French Indians, as they were trading with the Cuttawas, one hundred miles from the Lower Shawonese Town on Ohio, and stripped and plundered of their goods and skins, and carried prisoners to Montreal, from whence they sent a letter to Mr. Saunders, Mayor of Albany." Governor Clinton enclosed a copy of this letter, which read as follows:

[1] *Penna. Mag.*, xxxi., 146.

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MONTREAL, June 9, 1753.

LOVING AND UNACQUAINTED FRIENDS:

These come to let you know that there are six Englishmen of us here in this place that are taken prisoners by the French Indians. We were taken from off the south side of Allegheny River, about one hundred miles, on the twenty-sixth of last January, and the Indians brought four of us along to this place, and two of us they sold to a French Captain on the road as we came; and when we came here to this place, the Indians thought to have sold us to the French General, but he would not buy us nor release us from the savages. So we live, us four, with the savages still; but we do not know how long, for our lives are in danger daily of being taken by them; and now the other two lads are sent down here, and them they have shut up in prison; so we are all in a very poor state, and can hear of no remedy or relief for us; but we expect, if this comes safe to your hands, you will be so compassionate as to use the best endeavors you can to work our deliverance from them; for our lives seem bitter to us whilst with them. . . . We are all of us from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and were all Indian Traders. . . .

ALEXANDER MCGINTY, DAVID HENDRICKS,
JABEZ EVANS, WILLIAM POWEL,
JACOB EVANS, THOMAS HYD.

Governor James Hamilton on receiving this letter, had instructed Conrad Weiser, who set out for the country of the Six Nations on July 26th, to call on Mr. Saunders as he passed through Albany, and to undertake some measures for securing the release of these prisoners. In the meantime, the following letter had also reached Albany from the imprisoned Traders:

JUNE YE 12TH, 1753,
DATED FROM YE CONAWAGOS TOWN,

Sirs and Christian Gentlemen of ye City of Albany Greeting:

I am an English Trader of ye River Ohio; was taken on ye 26th of January last; lost 40 horses, whereof 35 was loaded with skins and goods to ye value of £110 or upwards; me and six of my men was taken. Three of us are in this Town. One more is in another Town, about seventeen mile distant, in custody of ye Indians, as I am; and two more of us are in jail in Montreal, in a dungeon. In a manner, sirs, we see there is no way that we can see for to get away, but by your means—to demand us from them; for ye French General has delivered us to ye Indians, to do what ye please; and they tell me if you will ask us from them, we shall be delivered without any molestation, and speedily; which I pray that you may take it in consideration and deliver us from this life of misery, of dying a thousand deaths, which is death itself, is preferable before life to me in this place. For Christ's sake, do what you can for us, and your petitioners are in duty bound, shall ever pray of your healths. I am of an ancient race of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania. Sirs, do your endeavor. If you expend anything, I am still able

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to make you restitution for it if I was got into Philadelphia. I beg your care and expedition.

DAVID HENDRICKS, JABOUS EVANS,
ALEXANDER MCGINTEY, JACOB EVANS,
WILLIAM POWELL, THOMAS HIDE.

All from your unknown friend and humble servant.
DAVID HENDRICKS.

On June 22d David Hendricks wrote a third letter to Albany, dated "from ye damned Papist Church at ye Conewagoe Town, hard by Mount Rall." In this he states that he is "at present kept by ye Indians as their own, not for a slave, but as one of their own children, which death I abhor to die. . . . You being Christians and Hollanders, as I am, I write to you . . . for here I die a thousand deaths."

Conrad Weiser returned to Philadelphia from Albany on September 2d, and stated that he had met the Mayor of Albany and the Indian Commissioners on August 8th.

A French Indian squaw was sent for, who had one of the prisoners, to-wit., Jabez Evans, in her family, given to her instead of Degarihogon, her son or relation, who died two years ago. . . . She being asked how it came that these poor people were taken prisoners in time of peace, she made answer, that some of the Caghnawaga [French Mohawk] warriors went to fight the Oyadackuch-raono [*i.e.*, Flat-heads,[1] in this case Cherokees], and happened to meet some of them at some distance from their country, accompanied by these white men, who, when they saw that the Caghnawagas would or had a mind to kill or take the Oyadackuchraono, they, the English, made resistance, and wounded one of their men with a musquet ball in his arm; upon which they resolved to take the white people as well as the Indians; and brought them away to Canada, leaving their horses and things upon the spot; and when they came to Canada, they presented the said prisoners to the Governor General, and told him how things happened; and that the Governor made answer, he would have nothing to do with these prisoners; upon which they, the Indians, took them to their towns, and three of them were given to an Indian living in Caghnawaga; one to the Indians at Canassategy; and two were imprisoned at Quebec, for what reason she did not know.

Alexander McGinty, one of these imprisoned Traders, returned to Philadelphia early in October, and on the twelfth of that month made a deposition in which he related the circumstances of his capture. He also presented a petition for relief to the Governor and Council, which was laid before the Assembly four days later, and McGinty was voted the sum of six pounds towards defraying the expenses of his return to Cumberland County. His petition and deposition read in part as follows:

[1] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, v., 386.

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"That on the twenty-sixth of January last your petitioner, in company with six other Indian Traders, being on their return from a trading journey among the Cuttawas [Cherokees], an Indian nation with the territories of Carolina, was met and taken prisoner by a party of French Indians, who took from your petitioner in goods, skins, and horses to the value of two hundred and twenty pounds, being all that your petitioner had in the world, and was even stripped of all his clothes; and being now reduced to extreme poverty and want. . . .

"The Deposition of Alexander McGinty, of Cumberland County, Indian Trader: . . .

"That this Deponent, with six other Traders, vizt., David Hendricks, Jacob Evans, William Powel, Thomas Hyde, and James Lowry, all of the Province of Pennsylvania, and Jabez Evans, of the Province of Virginia, being on their return from trading with the Cuttawas, a nation who live in the Territories of Carolina, were, on the twenty-sixth day of January, last, attacked and taken prisoners by a company of Coghnawagos, or French Praying Indians [converted by the Jesuits, and induced to remove from the Mohawk Valley to the vicinity of Montreal], from the River Saint Lawrence, being in number seventy (with whom was one white man, called Philip, a Low Dutchman) at a place *about twenty-five miles from the Blue Lick Town* [Eskippakithiki],[1] *and on the south bank of Cantucky River*, which empties itself into Allegheny River about two hundred miles below the Lower Shawnee Town; this Deponent and the said six Traders having then with them in goods, skins, and furs, to the value of seven hundred pounds, Pennsylvania money, which were all taken away from them by the said French Indians. That from thence the said Deponent, with the said David Hendricks, Jacob Evans, William Powell, Thomas Hyde, and Jabez Evans (the said James Lowry having made his escape soon after they were taken as aforesaid, and returned into Pennsylvania, as this Deponent hath since heard), were carried by the said Indians to a French Fort on the Miamis or Twightwee River, and

[1] It will be noticed that Evans's map of 1755 shows the distance on the Great Warriors' Path leading south from the Lower Shawnee Town, to be sixty miles from the mouth of the Scioto to the crossing of Great Salt Lick (now Licking) River; and the Great Buffalo Lick (now Lower Blue Licks) on that stream, to be fully twenty-five miles below the crossing, and that far west of the Path. From the crossing of the Licking to Eskippakithiki, Evans gives the distance as forty miles; and from thence south to the Warriors' Branch of the Kentucky, twenty-five miles. In the *Analysis* of his Map, Evans speaks of having secured his information regarding the Ohio and its branches from the Indian Traders, and for the description of the river from the Scioto to the falls, he was indebted to Alexander McGinty and Alexander Lowrey. This being the case, there can be no doubt that the Blue Lick Town in Kentucky in Finley and McGinty's day was identical with the town which Evans calls Eskippakithiki; and was not located either at the Lower or Upper Blue Lick of the Licking River, as known in later years; but on a fork of the Red River branch of the Kentucky.

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from thence to Fort De Troit, and there the said Jacob Evans and Thomas Hyde (as they informed this Deponent at the said Fort) were sold by the said Indians to Monsieur Celoron, Commandant of that Fort. And this Deponent, with the said David Hendricks and Jabez Evans were carried forward by the Lake Erie to Niagara, and so through Lake Ontario to the City of Mont Real, and there brought before the General of Canada, who said he would have nothing to do with them, for they were the Indians' prisoners, and at their disposal. That the said Jacob Evans, Thomas Hyde, and William Powel, were also afterwards sent to Montreal, where this Deponent saw the said Jacob Evans and Thomas Hyde in prison, but were sometime after sent away to Old France, as this Deponent was told at Montreal. That the said William Powel was sent to Canessatawba Town, twenty-six miles from Montreal, and this Deponent to a small Indian Town in the neighborhood of Montreal, where he was kept a prisoner by the said Indians who took him, but was sometimes permitted to go to Montreal.

"That the Indians of the Town where he was prisoner, near Montreal, told him that there should not be a white man of the English Nation on Ohio before the next Cold, meaning the winter, for the land was their Father's, the French, and no Englishman should remain there.

"That in their passage from Fort DeTroit to Niagara, in March last, they met on Lake Erie seven battoes at one time, and fifteen at another; and afterwards, in their passage from Niagara to Montreal, they saw on Lake Ontario 160 battoes, or upwards; in all which battoes were embarked French soldiers, with arms and ammunition, some of them having twelve, some ten, and some eight men on board."

In George Croghan's deposition, given on page 250, he speaks of the "Blue Licks on Kentucke River," as the site of the Shawnee town which Evans calls *Eskippaki-thiki*, its Indian name.

Gallatin gives *eskipakehah* as the Sauk word for "blue," and this is exactly the meaning of the Shawnee word, *skipaki* or *eskippaki*. *Thiki* means "place."

The name, *Skipaki-cipi*, or *Riviere Bleue*, given to a river in this vicinity on Franquelin's map of 1684 (reproduced at page 92 of this volume), made up from data furnished by La Salle, is significant in connection with the term "Blue Licks." It shows that the name, "Blue," possibly "Blue Licks," was the prehistoric Indian name of a river in this part of the Ohio Valley, on which river were located the Shawnee towns of Chaskepe and Meguatchaiki. From what has been given above, it is safe to conclude that this river was either the Cumberland or the Kentucky. The common belief, accepted in the preceding pages, that the Cumberland was the prehistoric *Riviere des Chaouanons*, may have to be altered in favor of the Kentucky.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE PICKAWILLANY PATH

SABREVOIS DE BLEURY'S *Memoir on the Savages of Canada*, etc., 1718, relates that "the St. Joseph [in Michigan] is a River on which formerly lived the Miamis and the Poutouatamis, who had missionaries among them; and it is not so very long since they were there. I believe they have departed from it only on account of the wars waged by the Renards, the Saquis, the Outaouacs, and all the other nations in that country. . . . I return to the River of the Miamis [now the Maumee]. Its entrance from Lake Erie is very wide, and on both sides, for a distance of ten leagues in ascending, there is nothing but continuous marshes. . . . Thirty leagues up is a place called *La Glaise* ["the place of clay"; *i.e.*, a salt-lick] where one always finds wild cattle, who eat the clay and roll in it. . . . The Miamis are sixty leagues from Lake Erie. They number 400 men, all shapely and well tattooed. They have abundance of women. They are very industrious, and raise a kind of Indian corn which is unlike that of our tribes at Detroit. Their corn is white, of the same size as the other, with much finer husks and much whiter flour. These people dress in deer-skins; and when a girl is married, and associates with another man than her husband, the latter cuts off her nose, and has no more intercourse with her. . . . The women are well covered, but the men wear very little covering, and have their bodies tattooed all over.[1] From this village of the Miamis, there is a portage of three leagues to a very narrow little river; and that river, after following it 20 leagues, falls into the Oyo River, or Beautiful River; the latter empties into the Ouabache, another fine River which falls into the Misisypy, 40 leagues from Cascaskias. Into this Ouabache River enters also the Casquinampo [Tennessee], by which one goes to Carolina; but it is a long distance, and always against the current. It is on this Ouabache River that the Ouyatanons are settled. They have five villages, all built close together. One is called Ouyatanons; another, Peanguichias; another, Peticotias; and another Les Gros; as

[1] They were known as the Naked Indians to the Marylanders and Pennsylvanians from about 1690 to 1730. See chapter on the Shawnees, Vol. I.

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for the last, I do not remember its name.[1] But they are all Ouyatanons. They speak like the Miamis, and are their brothers."

Charlevoix visited the French post of the Miamis in 1721, at which time it was located on the St. Joseph River near the site of the present city of Niles, Michigan. It is shown on the map of Bellin, published in Charlevoix's *Journal Historique* (Paris, 1744). The latter author writes of the Miamis:

"Fifty years ago, the Miamis were established at the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, at a place called Chicagou, from the name of a small river which flows into the Lake [Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo, *shekagua*, "skunk," and *shekakoheg*, "place of the skunk"]; its source is not far from that of the Illinois. The Miamis are now separated into three villages: one of these is on the River Saint Joseph; the second upon another river which bears their name [Maumee], and flows into Lake Erie; and the third upon the Ouabache River, which discharges its waters into the Mississippi; these last are better known under the name of Ouyatanons [their later popular name was Wees]. It can hardly be doubted that this tribe and that of the Illinois were, not very long ago, one and the same people, in view of the close affinity which is observed between their two languages."

The Miamis are first mentioned on the pages of the Pennsylvania records in April, 1728. On the 18th, at a meeting of the Provincial Council, Governor Patrick Gordon informed the Board, "that James Le Tort, an Indian Trader, was lately come down from Chenastry, on the upper parts of the River Sasquehannah, to acquaint this Government with a matter he had been informed of by Mistress Montour . . . the import of which is, that the people of the Five Nations had sent to the Miamis and Twechtweys [usually spelled Twightwees], called also the Naked Indians, settled at the western end of the Lake Erie, within the French claims, desiring them to engage and take up the hatchet of war against the English and Christians, and that the said Le Tort was now attending, who, being called in and examined on oath, gave the following account: That intending last Fall to take a journey as far as the Miamis Indians or Twechtweys, to trade with them, he had consulted Mrs. Montour, a French woman, wife to Carondowana, about his journey thither, who, having lived amongst and having a sister married to one of that Nation, he believed might be a proper person to advise him."

Beauharnois, Governor of New France, wrote the French Ministry from Quebec, October 14, 1733, that he had sent the Sieur Desnoyelles to gather together the Miamis. He speaks of one party, which had

[1] A Twightwee chief at Logstown in the latter part of 1754 gave the names of the Miami tribes as Twightwee, Piankishaw, Waywawjachtanon, and Muskoo (*i.e.*, Mascoutin). *Penna. Col. Rec.*, vi., 198. The Tepicon clan seems to have been another.

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established itself on the "Riviere Blanche," and of two other bands, one of which had settled on the upper part of the Kiepigon River, and the other between the River St. Joseph and the Miamis (Maumee). October 7, 1734, Beauharnois reported that Desnoyelles had faithfully performed the task of once more gathering the scattered Miamis in their village at the head of the Miami River (now the site of Fort Wayne, Indiana). The village at this place was, by the French of De roit, called Kiskakon or Kekionga, after the name of one of the Ottawa clans; and was a French trading post before 1719.

The Sieur Douville, Commandant at the Miami Fort, wrote from Detroit August 25, 1747, that, after some delay, he had arrived at that post from the Miamis, bringing with him two Miami chiefs, from whom he had received speeches; that everything was quiet at their village since his departure on July 3d; and that he had had assurances that the Senecas had given an English belt to La Demoiselle, chief of a portion of the Miamis, to procure the assassination of Douville and of Longueuil, Commandant at Detroit. In forwarding this report to the French Ministry, La Galissoniere, Governor of Canada, wrote November 10th, that he had received a later letter from the Detroit Commandant, dated October 22d, who informed him that "The Miamis and perhaps also the Ouyatanons, are in disorder. The former allowed themselves to be gained over by the belts of Nicolas [the Huron or Wyandot chief at Sandusky, who revolted from the French, and removed to Conchake in the White River country], who represented to them that Detroit had been razed by the Lake tribes; that consequently they could no longer defer killing the French who were among them. The Miamis have listened to this message; they first seized eight Frenchmen who were in the fort of that post, whom, however, they did not injure; they afterwards seized the property and burned a portion of the buildings. Two of the eight Frenchmen, whom the Miamis had allowed to leave unharmed, arrived at Detroit on the 7th of October. . . . Jaret, a Miamis chief of the village of Tepicourt, was at Detroit during all this disorder. M. de Longueuil has thought proper to send him without delay to try and restore good order, and more particularly, to save the six Frenchmen who are detained prisoners." La Galissoniere adds the news written from Kaskaskia August 11th, that Berthet, the Commandant there, had been informed by a Huron returning from the Chickasaw War, who had spent the winter at Sonnioto (Scioto—Lower Shawnee Town) with the Chaouenons, of a league formed by the latter to destroy the Upper Country posts. "La Demoiselle, the Miamis chief, is the concocter of this league. . . . Ensign Douville, who commanded at that post [Miamis] . . . was at Detroit at the time the Indians committed the pillage." M. de Longueuil accordingly sent Ensign Dubuisson with thirty men

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to spend the winter at the Miami post, and keep possession of the fort.

The Detroit Commandant wrote to Quebec again in February, 1748, that Dubuisson reported to him "that the unfriendly tribe having La Demoiselle as its chief, had resolved to return to its duty, and was already on the way to Detroit, when it received a deputation reported to be composed of Chaouenons, which dissuaded the Miamis from taking this step." Longueuil also reported that a Frenchman had been killed at the gate of the Miami Fort, supposedly the work of the Iroquois; and that his scalp had been carried to the village of the Huron rebel chief, Nicolas, on Sandusky Bay, whom the English of Philadelphia had visited twice during the winter, and had been well received. La Galissoniere, in his next annual Journal of occurrences in Canada, sent to the French Ministry, October 23, 1748, remarks of the Miami affair: "That nation was divided into two parties, whereof one that appears attached to the French is, I believe, the most considerable, and has remained at the village. . . . Sieur Dubuisson . . . subsisted until Spring at a considerable expense to the King, and kept up negotiations with the chief of the hostile party, who, probably, will alter his course."

The following letter, the original of which was poorly spelled, and written, probably, by the hand of one of Croghan's Traders, for the chiefs of the Mingoes and Shawnees at Logstown, Kuskuskies, and Lower Shawnee Town, apparently in the interest of the Miamis of La Demoiselle's band, and bearing date "Aleggainey, April ye 20th, 1747," was received by the Governor of Pennsylvania about the first of the following month:

BROTHER OF PHILADELPHIA:

The Inomey Nation, in our treaty with them, told us to encourage their Brother to suffer his people to deal with them, for their wives and children are suffering for want of clothing, and the nations in friendship with us, that trades with the English, will oblige us if they encourage their Brother to look on them as an inoffensive people, ready to stop their ears from hearkening to the French deluding speeches; and hope that this small present of ten deers' skins and five beaver skins will be accepted of as a token of their sincerity; and having an answer, doth resolve to quit their towns and habitations, and will settle in a convenient place, called Inomey Creek [the Maumee and the Great and Little Miami rivers are called "Mineami" on Evans's map of 1755], for the Traders that will deal with them may have the less trouble in coming to them; and farther desires the favor of having a little more powder given us by the Traders for our pay, as formerly they did; and farther sayeth, it is not a nation that speaks, but all the nations about, Five Nations and others, with a string of wampum, as our custom is when we speak truth. Expecting an answer, we will give a farther account concerning our affairs.

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Signed by the marks of the following Indians: ADECAGHLONADOE, Mingo; TANAREECO [Tanacharisson], Mingo; ORSCANYADEE [Scarrooyady], Mingo; COGHCOWAGCOO [Kackewatcheky], Shawnee [of Logstown]; NOOCHEGRONOW [Neucheconno], Shawnee [of Lower Shawnee Town]; TOMENEY BUCK, Mingo [Shawnee (?), of Lower Shawnee Town].

This letter was submitted to the Pennsylvania General Assembly on August 18th, with the information from the President of the Council that Inomey Creek, on which these Indians were seated, runs into Lake Erie. "Inomey" is either a misprint, or a variant of the uneducated Trader who had written the letter, for Omee, or Oumeami, or Maumee, which were French pronunciations of the name *Miami*, as applied to the river still called the Maumee.

From what has been printed above and from what follows, it would appear that the band of La Demoiselle departed from the Miami fort in the summer of 1747, probably for the head of St. Mary's River (the southwest branch of the Maumee), and either at that time or soon afterwards, they seated themselves on the west side of the Great Miami River, just below the mouth of what, since about 1769, has been known as Loramie's Creek. The site of this village is in Washington Township, Miami County, Ohio, about two miles north of the present Piqua. They came here in order to be nearer their allies, the Shawnees of Lower Shawnee Town, and the English Traders who made that town their headquarters, and kept a considerable supply of goods there. The town of the Miamis or Twightwees was called by the Shawnees *Pkiwileni* (*i.e.*, "dust, or ashes, people"), a name given also to many of their own towns which were settled by the *Pkiwi* or Pequa clan—more familiar in the common form of Piqua or Pickaway. The Traders adopted the Shawnee name, and usually called the Twightwee town, Pickawillany. It is given on Evans's map of 1755 as "The English Tawichtwi [Twightwee] Town, or Picque Town."

On July 19, 1748, three Twightwee deputies from Pickawillany, accompanied by Scarrooyady and another Oneida chief from the Ohio, one Seneca and two Mohawk chiefs, and three Shawnees, met the Commissioners of the Pennsylvania Government in a conference at Lancaster, which lasted until the 23d inst. The Six Nations chiefs informed the Commissioners of what had passed between them and the Twightwees previous to their coming to Lancaster, which was in effect, that "last Fall they [the Twightwees] sent a message addressed to all the tribes of Indians at Ohio and elsewhere in amity with the English, which was delivered to the Shawonese, as living nearest to them, and by them communicated to us [the Six Nations] at Kuskuskies and Logstown." The Twightwees said they were desirous of entering into the English chain of friendship, and wished that a Council Road might be opened between

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them and the English Governments. The Six Nations replied that they were afraid this resolution might have been taken hastily, and advised the Twightwees to take full time to consider the matter, and then they would give them all the assistance in their power. The Miamis sent a second message in the spring, repeating their request, and adding that it did not come from the mouth only, but from the heart. After this, the Six Nations chiefs about Kuskuskies agreed to send the present deputation. The Twightwees, who had come to Lancaster, then addressed the Pennsylvania Commissioners directly, and told them, among other things, that their party had received a calumet pipe from some of their allies, consisting of twelve towns or nations, who expected also to apply for admission into the English chain of friendship, in case the present application was successful. The Commissioners agreed to admit the Miamis into the English alliance, and a treaty was written, and signed by the various parties present on July 23d.

The next account we have of Pickawillany is that of Captain Celoron, who floated down the Ohio River from the outlet of Lake Chautauqua to the mouth of the Great Miami in July and August, 1749. We parted with him in the chapter on the Lower Shawnee Town. He left that place on August 26th, at ten o'clock in the morning. His *Journal* proceeds:

"27th. I arrived at White River about ten o'clock at night. I knew that three leagues in the interior there were six cabins of Miamis, which caused me to camp at this place."

Dunn, in his *Indiana*, erroneously identifies this particular White River with White Oak Creek, in the present Brown County, Ohio, about sixty-five miles below the mouth of the Scioto. This White River of 1749, however, was the Little Miami, the mouth of which is ninety-eight miles below the Scioto. George Croghan passed down the river in May and June, 1765; leaving the Scioto on the 28th of May, he travelled "sixty miles" that day, and, "the river being wider and deeper, we drove all night," and came to the Little Miami on the 29th, "having proceeded sixty miles last night." John Jennings, also, accompanied a party down the Ohio in March, 1766. He passed the Scioto at eleven o'clock on the morning of the 14th; at half-past five on the morning of the 15th, he writes, "left our camp, which is about fifty miles below the Scioto. . . . At half-past four, passed by the Little Mineami River."

Celoron sent Coulon (?) de Villiers and his own son to the cabins of the Miamis, to request them to come and speak with him, and when they came, he engaged them to accompany him to the village of La Demoiselle. The town of six cabins is shown on Bonnecamps' map of the Ohio as *Le Baril* (which was the name of its chief), situated a little

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below the mouth of *R. Blanche.*[1] Celoron reached the mouth of the Great Miami on the 30th of August, and buried one of his leaden plates there on the 31st. He then ascended the Miami, and arrived at the village of La Demoiselle (Pickawillany) on the 13th of September. Here he found two English Traders, whom he made to depart. "Those who had passed the summer in trading there had already gone away with their effects by the land route; they have paths of communication from one village to the other."

Celoron made presents of goods and ammunition to the Miamis, and tried to induce them to return to Kiskakon, their ancient village (at the site of the present Fort Wayne, Indiana). "It is in that land, my children," he told them, "that you will enjoy the pleasures of life, being the spot where repose the bones of your ancestors, and those of Monsieur Vincennes [the elder], whom you loved so well, and who governed you always in such manner that your affairs always went well."

While at Logstown, Celoron had told the Indians there that he was going down the river "in order to whip home some of our children, that is, the Twightwees and Wyandots."

The chief, La Demoiselle, whom the English Traders, from his attachment to the English, called "Old Britain," replied to Celoron by promising to reflect during the winter on what he had told them, and to return to Kiskakon the next spring. On the 19th, a new interpreter arrived, for whom Celoron had sent to the Miami fort. The latter sadly writes: "I waited, to try, by means of Roy, to induce La Demoiselle, with some other chiefs, to go with me and relight their fires and replace their mats at Kiskakon. In this I could not succeed. They kept saying always and assuring me that they would return next spring."

Celoron burned his canoes and marched overland to the French Miamis fort at Kiskakon. Here he held a conference with the chief *Le Pied Froid* (Cold Foot) and others of the Miamis who had remained faithful to the French; and told them of his reception at Pickawillany. Of this chief Celoron writes: "After having listened with much attention, he arose and said to me: 'I hope I am mistaken, but I am sufficiently attached to the interests of the French to say that La Demoiselle lies. My chief chagrin is to be the only one that loves you, and to see all the nations of the South exasperated against the French.'"

Celoron concludes his *Journal* by saying that his journey to the posts on the Ohio and its tributaries had been one of more than twelve hundred leagues. "All that I can say is, that the tribes of those localities are very badly disposed toward the French and entirely devoted to the English. I do not know by what means they can be brought back. . . .

[1] Bonnecamps writes: "They had established themselves there a short time before and formed a village of seven or eight cabins a league distant from the River."

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If we send to them for trade, our Traders can never give our merchandise at English prices, on account of the costs that they are obliged to incur. Besides, I think it would be dangerous to make conditions easier for those who inhabit the Beautiful River than for those of our posts of Detroit, Miamis, and others. It would depopulate our ancient posts and perpetuate the tribes on the Beautiful River, which are convenient to the English Government."

Father Bonnecamps, the Jesuit chaplain who accompanied Celoron's expedition, writes of the visit to Pickawillany: "On the 13th of September, we had the honor of saluting La Demoiselle in his Fort. It is situated on a vast prairie which borders *Riviere à la Roche* [the French name for the Great Miami]; its latitude is 40° 34′. This band is not numerous; it consists at most of 40 or 50 men. There is among them an English Trader. Monsieur de Celoron did not talk with La Demoiselle until the 17th, because he awaited an interpreter from the Miamis, for whom he had asked Monsieur Raimond. But weary with waiting, and seeing the season already advanced, he determined to take for an interpreter an old Sounantouan [Seneca], who was in Le Baril's company. On the 18th, La Demoiselle replied, and in his answer promised to take back his band to their old village in the following spring. . . . But the arrival of the Miami interpreter put him in a bad humor; he forgot all his promises, and in spite of all that we could do, he constantly refused to see us. We then left him."

At a meeting of the Pennsylvania Council held July 31, 1750, the Governor presented "a message from the chiefs of the Four Nations of the Twightwees, which was spoke to Mr. Hugh Crawford, Indian Trader, in one of the Twightwee Towns on the Owabach, where he was trading last winter, and which he put down in writing." This message was to inform Governor Hamilton, and through him the other English Governors, "that last July [September] about two hundred French and thirty-five French Indians came to their towns, in order to persuade them to return back to the French settlements from whence they came; or if fair means would not prevail with them, they were to take them away by force; but the French, finding that they were resolved to adhere to the English, and perceiving their numbers to be great, were discouraged from using any hostile measures, and began to be afraid lest they themselves should be cut off. The French brought them a present, consisting of four half-barrels of powder, four bags of bullets, and four bags of paint, with a few needles and a little thread, which they refused to accept of, whereupon the French and their Indians made the best of their way off, for fear of the worst, leaving their goods scattered about. . . . The Indians sent by Hugh Crawford to the Governor four strings of wampum to confirm their message, and two strings more, that the

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Traders of Pennsylvania may be encouraged by him to go out and deal with them."

In the Service Journal of Captain Raymond, Commandant of the Miamis Fort at Kiskakon, a letter was entered which he had received from Benoiest de St. Cler (also written St. Clin), Commandant at Fort Chartres on the Mississippi, dated at that post February 11, 1750. This letter begins by giving notice "of a conspiracy which is being planned against us [the French] since last summer, at the instigation of the English [George Croghan] who is making use of La Demoiselle, chief of the Miamis who has withdrawn to *La Riviere à la Roche*. He has given messages to have us attacked both by the nations of Ouabache and by those who are domiciled with us; this is what I discovered a few days ago. The rebel [La Demoiselle] had a collar [*i.e.*, a belt of wampum] given by the Ouyatanons to one named Pedagogue, and an English flag to his brother, who is of the family of the Rouansas, the first chiefs of the Ylinois. That message was received and sent to the Kaoskias, who agreed to it. It was also sent to the Peorias. The answer has not yet come. *La Mouche Noire* [Black Mouth], who is a Pianguichias chief, is expected here this Spring. He is to bring a collar as a last message to carry out this conspiracy, according to what I have been told. La Demoiselle is to come with his people, and those of Cenioteaux [Scioto], to take, in passing, the Miamis, the Ouyatanons, and the Pianguichias, that they may all join with our domiciled savages to attack us. There is a rumor also that our domiciled savages are inducing the Missouris and Osages to unite with them."

On the 22d of July, 1750, William Trent wrote to Secretary Peters, of the Provincial Council, from Lancaster, telling him that "John Potts is just arrived from Allegheny, who says, some time before he came away, two men belonging to one James Young, went from a place called Hochocken, about three hundred miles from the Logstown, to the Twightwees country, for skins. They staying longer than was expected, their master sent after them. They found the horses and saddles, all the buckles cut from the saddles, but the men were gone, either killed or taken by the French or Indians, supposed to be done by the Ottaways."

On October 11th of the same year, these two captured Traders, who had made their escape from the French, and reached Philadelphia by way of New York, appeared before the Pennsylvania Council, bearing a letter from Governor Clinton, and made the following deposition relating to their capture and escape. Their names were Morris Turner and Ralph Kilgore:

These Examinants say that they are hired servants of one John

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Frazier, of the County of Lancaster, in the Province of Pennsylvania, Indian Trader; that in May last, they were trading for him among the Twightwees, to whom they had sold a large quantity of goods, and had received in return more skins than they could carry with their horses at one time; that after having delivered one parcel of their skins at Allegheny, as they were returning for a second with empty horses, and were got [to Mad Creek] within twenty-five miles, as they think, of the Twightwees' Town [Pickawillany], on the twenty-sixth day of May last, seven Indians came into their cabins a little before sun-set, received victuals from them, and dressed and eat it, and behaved like friends. That sometime after their coming into the cabin, the Indians, in the way of curiosity, took up the guns belonging to these Examinants, and a Tomhock, and asked them for knives to cut their tobacco with; which, as soon as they had given them, they seized them and tied their hands with ropes, and told them they must carry them to their Fathers, the French. And accordingly, they took them along with them, pinioning them in the day, and fastening them in the night with ropes to the ground. That they did not go the direct road to Fort Detroit, but went round about ways; for that they did not reach it in less than sixteen days, though from the place where they were taken it is not, as they think, above one hundred and fifty miles. That all the way they were very inquisitive about the courses of the road and of the waters between the Twightwee Country and the Allegheny Towns, and made these Examinants draw draughts of those roads and waters. That when they came about a mile from the Fort, they unpinioned them, and marched them into the Town called De/Troit, consisting of one hundred and fifty houses, stockaded all round.

That on their arrival at the Town, more Indians joined them; when a Council was immediately convened by the Commander of the Fort, in which the Indians gave a formal account of their taking these Examinants prisoners, delivered them to the Commander in Council, and received some presents in reward of their services, vizt., a ten gallon cag of brandy, and about one hundred pound weight of tobacco.

That the Commander of the Fort sent them to a farmer's house about a mile from the Town, where they were made to reap wheat and hoe Indian corn, and work country work. That about six days after they were placed there, the Indians who took them came to see them, and treated them very contemptuously, flirting their fingers against their noses and saying they were dogs, and they were going for more of them. That they remained in this farmer's house about three months, when there arrived a new Commander, one Monsieur Celoron, the same officer who, the year before, had commanded a detachment of French soldiers sent to Ohio with design to intimidate those Indians and the Twightwees.

That about three weeks before their leaving the farmer's house, one of the garrison soldiers came to visit them, along with two or three others who talked English. This soldier told them that he was but just come to the Fort, having been taken prisoner by the Catawbas, who carried him to Wiliamsburg, where he was treated very civilly and permitted to go home, and that he came through Philadelphia and New York, and was everywhere treated much to his satisfaction; and hearing that there were two Englishmen prisoners at that house, he came to see them; and

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in confidence told them that in the Spring an army of five hundred Frenchmen would march to Ohio, and either bring back the Shawnees and Owendats or kill them; and that they had offered one thousand dollars for the scalps of George Croghan and James Lowry, imagining if they were taken off, as they had great influence with the Ohio Indians, they could easily gain over those Indians to them.

That the late Commander of the Fort departing for Canada, they were committed to his care, and in fourteen days arrived at Niagara, where they found one, Jean Ceur [Joncaire], the head interpreter for the French at Quebec, conducting, as they were informed, a large present of goods to Ohio, which lay upon the bank, and which they believed if they were bought in Philadelphia could not cost less than fifteen hundred pounds. . . .

That somewhere between Niagara and Oswego, on Lake Frontiniac [Ontario], these Examinants made their escape in the night time, the persons appointed for their guard being asleep, and got safe to the Fort of Oswego, and from thence came by New York to this place.

On the 19th of September, 1750, Governor James Hamilton announced to the Pennsylvania Council that he had received some intelligence of consequence relating to the Indians, in a letter written by Captain William Trent, one of the Justices of Cumberland County, and partner with Mr. Croghan, the most considerable Indian Trader of the Province. Captain Trent's letter was dated at Lancaster, August 18th, and it read in part as follows: "A few days ago some of the Lowrys' hands [James, John, Alexander, and Lazarus Lowrey, of Donegal Township, Lancaster County, were all engaged in the Indian Trade, as their father, Lazarus Lowry, was before them] came in from the Woods. They had a Frenchman in company, who says he was a French Trader, and was put in irons and confined for disobeying the orders of the Commander of the Fort where he traded (the Fort [that of Miamis] lies betwixt De Troit and the Picts' Country). By the assistance of his friends, he made his escape to the Picts [Twightwees, not Shawnees] that are in friendship with us; some of which was for putting him to death as a spy; others would have sent him back; and some were for delivering him to Lowry, to be kept till the man that killed his brother [John Lowrey, in 1749] and the Indian by setting fire to the powder [at the Forks of the Ohio, according to Samuel Evans, a descendant of Alexander Lowrey] was delivered. He's in Lowry's possession now."

The Pennsylvania Council and Assembly sent George Croghan and Andrew Montour to the West early in November, with a small present for the Twightwees, and a message to the Ohio tribes that a large present would be sent them in the spring of 1751. The messengers reached Logstown on November 15th, and Croghan wrote from there to the Governor the following day, telling him that while most of the chiefs at that place were out in the woods hunting, the few Croghan had seen "are of the

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opinion that their brothers the English, ought *to have a Fort on this River*, to secure the trade, for they think it will be dangerous for the Traders to travel the roads, for fear of being surprised by some of the French and French Indians, for they expect nothing else but a war with the French next spring. . . . The Twightwees likewise have sent word to the French, that if they can find any of their people, either French or French Indians, on their hunting ground, that they will make them prisoners . . . The Twightwees want to settle themselves somewhere up this river, in order to be nearer their brothers, the English, for they are determined never to hold a treaty of peace with the French."

Croghan left Logstown with Montour for Conchake, the town of the Wyandots at the Forks of the Muskingum, and while he was there, as we have seen from the *Journal* of Gist's visit to that place, word was brought him by his Traders, on December 17th, that two of his men had been captured by a party of French and Indians, and carried to a new fort the French were building on one of the branches (Sandusky Bay) of Lake Erie. On the 9th of January, 1751, two more Traders came to Conchake, "from among the Pickwaylinees (these are a tribe of the Twightwees), and brought news that another English Trader was taken prisoner by the French, and that three French soldiers [at Miamis Fort?] had deserted and come over to the English, and surrendered themselves to some of the Traders of the Pick Town; and that the Indians would have put them to death, to revenge their taking our Traders; but, as the French prisoners had surrendered themselves, the English would not let the Indians hurt them, but had ordered them to be sent under the care of three of our Traders and delivered at this Town to George Croghan."

The Traders who were captured and carried to the Fort at Sandusky were Luke Irwin, Thomas Burk, and Joseph Faulkner, whose story has already been told in the chapter on Conchake. The other English Trader who had been taken prisoner was John Pattin, or Patten (as he spelled his name). An entry in the *Journal* of the Pennsylvania Assembly under date of October 16, 1752, recites that, "The House being informed that one, John Pattin, formerly an Indian Trader of this Province, is lately arrived from England, and now in town, who had been taken by the French and carried to Canada, and from thence to Old France, the Clerk was ordered to acquaint the said Pattin that the House require his attendance to-morrow morning." On the next day, "John Pattin, giving his attendance, according to the order of the House, was called in, and having answered such questions as were put to him by the House, he withdrew," after having presented the following petition for relief:

. . . The Petitioner, being trading with the Miamis Indians, allies

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of this Province, was, on the 20th day of November, 1750, taken prisoner by the French, and all his goods seized, to the value of eight or nine hundred pounds; that he was carried to Fort Detroit, and there confined for five months; from thence he was carried prisoner over the Lake Erie to Niagara; thence to Cadaracqui; thence to Montreal; thence to Quebec; where he was again thrown into prison and very hardly used; thence, though in a very ill state of health, he was hurried on ship-board and carried to Rochelle, in Old France, where he was again thrown into Gaol and kept close confined for three months, suffering very great hardships; that having at length found some friends, he obtained his liberty, and went to Paris to solicit the restitution of his goods. But after three months' attendance in vain, he could obtain nothing, and was told his goods were confiscated, he being, as they pretended, found trading within the limits of their country. On which he returned to his native country; but is totally ruined by the said proceedings of the French, which, if they continue, our Indian trade must at length be quite discouraged and lost to this Province.

The Pennsylvania Assembly voted thirty pounds for the relief of Patten, and instructed the Clerk to take down in writing the account which he gave of the manner of his being taken and of the places in Canada through which he passed during his captivity. On the 15th of January following, "the Clerk brought to the house the account which John Pattin gave of the several places in Canada through which he passed, when taken by the French, together with a map of that country, drawn by the said Pattin."[1] It read as follows:

John Pattin of the Province of Pennsylvania, Indian Trader, says, that some time in November, 1750, he went with goods a trading to the Miamis, otherwise called the Twightwee Town, which lies near the head of that Western branch of the Ohio called by the English Miamis River, but by the French *La Riv. Rochers* or Rocky River, and is about 200 miles by water and 100 by land to where it empties itself into the Ohio; and from there up to Log's Town is about 450 miles by water.

That this Miami Town was computed to have about 200 fighting men, all of the Twightwee Nation, settled therein, and are some of those who left the French seven or eight years ago [from 1752], in order to trade with the English.

That being informed here that there were some Indians a hunting at The Cross (a place about 65 miles from the Miamis Town, where the French have erected a large wooden cross, to be worshipped by their Traders who pass this way),[2] he went thither and traded with them.

But wanting sundry necessaries, he went from thence to a Fort which the French have on the branch of Lake Erie, called by them Miamis

[1] The manuscript of Patten's account is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The extract printed here, as well as Patten's description (written in 1754) of the French trade routes and forts between Canada and Louisiana, are published in the *Wis. Hist. Soc. Collections*, xviii., 113, 143.

[2] "The Cross" is shown on Evans's map of 1755, on the head waters of the St. Mary's River.

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River, thinking, as there was peace between the English and French, he would be in no danger. But contrary to his expectation, when he came there, he was immediately seized and kept in close confined.

That the River at the Fort is about three rods wide, on the other side of which, about a mile and a half from the Fort, is the French Miamis Town [the site of Fort Wayne, Indiana], where there are about 150 Indians, the remainder of those who came over to the English, as mentioned before; that the Fort is small, stockaded round with pallisadoes, and had at the time he was there a Captain, Lieutenant, and 50 men; but that most of these men were Traders, who were continually passing to and fro; and by what he could learn, there were but about nine or ten who constantly resided there.

That the French talk of destroying this Fort and building one three miles below, on the other side of the River, in a fork between the Miamis River [St. Joseph's branch] and a River [St. Mary's branch] which leads to a portage near the head of Wabach.

That the land from the English Miamis Town to the French Fort is for the most part savannahs and plains, but here and there some fine timber land interspersed.

That from hence he was sent under a guard of nine men to Fort Detroit, which is about 240 miles by water; that the passage to this place is down Miamis River, which is full of small falls, into Lake Erie, and then up the straits between Lake Erie and Huron, on the west side of which strait stands the Fort, about forty rods from the River. . . .

That the French go in three days from Fort Detroit to Fort Sandoski, which is a small pallisadoed Fort, with about twenty men, lying on the south side of Lake Erie, *and was built in the latter end of the year 1750.*

That after being kept prisoner about four months at Detroit, he was sent under a guard to Niagara Fort.

Patten was examined by Governor La Jonquiere and his Council in the Castle of Vaudreuil at Montreal, June 19, 1751, and his answers to the questions asked him at that time were as follows:

That his name was John Patten, aged twenty-six years, an Indian Trader, a native and inhabitant of Wilmington, in the Province of Pennsylvania; that he had left Wilmington the 24th of last August, Old Style; that he set out in order to trade with some Miami Indians who are settled on Rock River, about thirty leagues, as near as he could guess, from the Miamis Fort.

That he had with him two hired servants, and that he was in company with an English Trader who had five more; that they all came together to Rock River, at which place they found upwards of fifty Traders, including servants, lodging in cabins belonging to the Miamis Indians; that the name of their chief was La Demoiselle; that *those cabins were in a fort;* that the value of his goods amounted to about 7,000 livres [francs]; that he had provided himself at setting out with a license from the Governor of Pennsylvania, for which he had paid a pistole, which license he had left with the abovesaid Miamis Indians, shut up in a little box of his in his cabin.

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That he had sold some goods to the Indians who are settled on the Ohio, Rock River, and other adjacent parts; that it was the first time of his coming to Rock River; and the only way he used to trade with the Indians was by showing them his goods, and agreeing with them as to the price; but that he had never undervalued the French goods.

He had only heard that the Governor of Pennsylvania had intrusted George Croghan, the head Indian interpreter, with goods to the value of a thousand pistoles; and that he went up and down the Woods with the said Montour, a French Canadian, in order to distribute the said goods among the Indians who are settled on the Ohio, Rock River, and particularly the Miamis Indians. . . . He denied knowing any Indian language.

That the Indians telling him the French were desirous to see him, was the reason of his going to that Fort; that he was greatly surprised to see himself arrested therein; that he had occasion to buy in said Fort, muskets and some tobacco, and had taken with him five silk caps, one piece of coarse holland, and twelve silk handkerchiefs for that purpose; and that all had been seized by the said M. de Villiers, as also his horse; that his boots and portmanteau, wherein his clothes were, had been left in an Indian cabin, and were to have been sent to him at Detroit; but he never had any tidings of them since; that another horse had also been taken from him, whereon was an Indian who was his guide. . . .

That he had left his goods at The Cross, and was satisfied that those goods mentioned in the verbal process [of M. de Montmigny, dated Dec. 2, 1750] were the same sort as his, but in much less quantity; that he could not tell what was become of the rest; it might be his servants had carried them away when they fled.

That he was not at the Ohio in the year 1749; that he was told of M. de Celoron's being there at that time, and of what orders he had enjoined the English Traders; that he had also been told of the letter which M. Celoron had written to the Governor of Pennsylvania on that account; but was informed he had never received it; Croghan, the chief interpreter aforesaid, having torn it, that the Governor might not know the contents thereof, lest he should act agreeable to it.

That the aforementioned Croghan, the head interpreter, had at all times persuaded the Indians to destroy the French, and had so far prevailed on them, by the presents he had made them, that five French had been killed by said Indians in the upper part of the country; that self-interest was his sole motive in everything he did; that his views were to engross the whole trade, and to scare the French from dealing with the Indians; and as to the letters which M. de Celoron had written to the Governor of Pennsylvania, three of them had been intercepted by the said Croghan, lest the said Governor, being acquainted with his deeds, should forbid him ever to go amongst them again.

The next English visitors to Pickawillany were George Croghan and Christopher Gist, with their party. The portion of Gist's *Journal* which has been given in the chapter on the Lower Shawnee Town ended at the point where Gist had resolved to set out for the Twightwee town on February 11, 1751. From that date his *Journal*[1] proceeds:

[1] Darlington s edition is followed, the text of which varies somewhat, especially

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"Tuesday, 12.—Having left my Boy to take care of my Horses in the Shannoah [1] Town, and supplied myself with a fresh Horse to ride, I set out with my old Company, viz., George Croghan, Andrew Montour, Robert Kallandar, and a Servant to carry our Provisions, &c., NW. 10M.

"Wednesday, 13.—The same Course NW. about 35M.

"Thursday, 14.—The same Course about 30M.

"Friday, 15.—The same Course 15M. We met with nine Shannoah Indians coming from one of the Pickwaylinees [2] Towns, where they had been to Council. They told Us there were fifteen more of them behind at the Twigtwee [3] Town, waiting for the Arrival of the Wawaughtanneys, [4] who are a Tribe of the Twigtwees, and were to bring with them a Shannoah Woman and Child to deliver to their Men that were behind: this Woman, they informed Us, had been taken Prisoner last Fall, by some of the Wawaughtanney Warriors, thro a Mistake, which had like to have engaged those Nations in a War. [See La Jonquiere's letter in Chapter V.]

"Saturday, 16.—Set out the same Course NW. about 35M., to the little Miamee [5] River [6] or Creek.

"Sunday, 17.—Crossed the little Miamee River, and altering our Course We went SW. 25M. to the big Miamee River, opposite the Twigtwee Town. All the Way from the Shannoah Town to this Place (except the first 20M., which is broken) is fine, rich, level, Land, well timbered with large Walnut, Ash, Sugar Trees, Cherry Trees, &c.; it is well watered with a great Number of little Streams or Rivulets, and full of beautiful natural Meadows, covered with wild Rye, blue Grass, and Clover, and abounds with Turkeys, Deer, Elks, and most Sorts of Game, particularly Buffaloes, thirty or forty of which are frequently seen feeding in one Meadow: In short it wants Nothing but Cultivation to make it a most delightful Country. The Ohio and all the large Branches are said to be full of fine Fish of several Kinds, particularly a Sort of Cat Fish of a prodigious Size; but as I was not there at the proper Season, I had not an opportunity of seeing any of them. The Traders had always reckoned it 200M., from the Shannoah Town to the Twigtwee Town, but by my Computation I could make it no more than 150. The Miamee

in the spelling of proper names, from that of Pownall (1776). Darlington had a transcript made from the original *Journal*.

[1] Pownall's edition says "Shawane."

[2] Pownall spells it "Picqualinnee."

[3] Pownall's edition says "Tawightwi."

[4] Pownall says "Wawiaghtas."

[5] Pownall writes it "Mineami."

[6] It was really Mad River, which Gist had mistaken for the Little Miami; see his return journey.

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River being high, We were obliged to make a Raft of old Loggs to transport our Goods and Saddles, and swim our Horses over.

"After firing a few Guns and Pistols, & smoaking in the Warriours' Pipe, who came to invite Us to the Town (according to their Custom of inviting and welcoming Strangers and Great Men), We entered the Town with English Colours before Us, and were kindly received by their King, who invited Us into his own House, & set our Colours upon the Top of it. The Firing of Guns held about a Quarter of an Hour, and then all the white Men and Traders that were there, came and welcomed Us to the Twigtwee Town.

"This Town is situate on the NW. side of the Big Miamee River, about 150M. from the Mouth thereof; it consists of about 400 Families, & daily encreasing; it is accounted one of the strongest Indian Towns upon this Part of the Continent. The Twigtwees are a very numerous People, consisting of many different Tribes under the same Form of Government. Each tribe has a particular Chief or King, one of which is chosen indifferently out of any Tribe to rule the whole Nation, and is vested with greater Authorities than any of the others. They are accounted the most powerful People to the Westward of the English Settlements, & much superior to the six Nations, with whom they are now in Amity. Their Strength and Numbers are not thoroughly known, as they have but lately traded with the English, and indeed have very little Trade among them. They deal in much the same Comodities with the Northern Indians. There are other Nations or Tribes still further to the Westward daily coming in to them, & 't is thought their Power and Interest reaches to the Westward of the Mississippi, if not across the Continent; they are at present very well affected to the English, and seem fond of an Alliance with them. They formerly lived on the farther Side of the Obache, and were in the French Interest, who supplied them with some few Trifles at a most exorbitant Price. They were called by the French, Miamees[1]; but they have now revolted from them, and left their former Habitations for the Sake of trading with the English; and notwithstanding all the Artifices the French have used, they have not been able to recall them.

"After We had been some Time in the King's House, Mr. Montour told Him that We wanted to speak with Him and the Chiefs of this Nation this Evening; upon which We were invited into the Long House; and having taken our Places, Mr. Montour began as follows:

"'Brothers, the Twigtwees, as We have been hindered by the high Waters and some other Business with our Indian Brothers, no Doubt our long Stay has caused some Trouble among our Brethren here, Therefore, We now present you with two Strings of Wampum to remove

[1] "Mineamis" by Pownall.

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all the Trouble of your Hearts, & clear your Eyes, that You may see the Sun shine clear, for We have a great Deal to say to You, & We woud have You send for one of Your Friends that can speak the Mohickon or the Mingoe Tongues well, that We may understand each other thoroughly, for We have a great Deal of Business to do.'

"The Mohickons are a small Tribe who most of them speak English, and are also well acquainted with the Language of the Twigtwees, and they with theirs. Mr. Montour then proceeded to deliver Them a Message from the Wyendotts and Delawares as follows:

"'Brothers, the Twigtwees, this comes by our Brothers, the English, who are coming with good News to You. We hope You will take Care of Them, and all our Brothers, the English, who are trading among You. You made a Road for our Brothers the English to come and trade among You, but it is now very foul, great Loggs are fallen across it, and We would have You be strong, like Men, and have one Heart with Us, and make the Road clear, that our Brothers, the English, may have free Course and Recourse between You and Us. In the Sincerity of our Hearts We send You these four Strings of Wampum.'

"To which they gave the usual 'Yo! Ho!' Then they said they wanted some Tobacco to smoak with Us, and that tomorrow they would send for their Interpreter.

"Monday, Feb. 18.—We walked about; viewed the Fort, which wanted some Repairs; & the Trader's Men helped Them to bring Loggs to line the Inside.

"Tuesday, 19.—We gave their Kings and great Men some Clothes, Paint, and Shirts, and now they were busy dressing and preparing themselves for the Council. The Weather grew warm and the Creeks began to lower very fast.

"Wednesday, 20.—About 12 of the Clock We were informed that some of the foreign Tribes were coming, upon which proper Persons were ordered to meet them and conduct Them into the Town, and then We were invited into the long House; after We had been seated about a Quarter of an Hour four Indians, two from each Tribe (who had been sent before to bring the long Pipe, and to inform us that the rest were coming) came in, & informed Us that their Friends had sent those Pipes that We might smoak the Calamut Pipe of Peace with Them, and that they intended to do the same with Us.

"Thursday, Feb. 21.—We were again invited into the Long House, where Mr. Croghan made them (with the foreign Tribes) a Present to the Value of £100 Pensylvania Money, and delivered all our Speeches to Them, at which they seemed well pleased, and said, that they would take Time and consider well what We had said to Them.

"Friday, 22.—Nothing remarkable happened in the Town.

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The Site of Pickawillany, Looking East towards the Miami River.

From a photograph furnished by Mr. Clark B. Jamison.

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"Saturday, 23.—In the Afternoon there was an Alarm in the Town, which caused a great Confusion and running about among the Indians. Upon enquiring into the Reason of this Stir, they told Us that it was occasioned by six Indians that came to war against Them, from the Southward: three of them Cutaways, and three Shanaws (these were some of the Shanaws who had formerly deserted from the other Part of the Nation, and now live to the Southward).[1] Towards Night there was a report spread in Town that four Indians and four hundred French were on their March and just by the Town: But soon after the Messenger who brought this News said, there were only four french Indians coming to Council, and that they bid him say so, only to see how the English would behave themselves; but as they had behaved themselves like Men, He now told the Truth.

"Sunday, 24.—This Morning the four French Indians came into Town and were kindly received by the Town Indians. They marched in under French Colours, and were conducted into the long House, and after they had been in about a Quarter of an Hour, the Council sate, and We were sent for that We might hear what the French had to say to them. The Pyankeshee[2] King (who was at that Time the principal Man, and Comander in Chief of the Twigtwees) said He would have the English Colours set up in this Council as well as the French, to which We answered he might do as he thought fit. After We were seated right opposite to the French Embassadors, One of Them said He had a Present to make Them; so a Place was prepared (as they had before done for our Present) between Them and Us, and then their Speaker stood up, and layed his hands upon two small Caggs of Brandy that held about seven Quarts each, and a Roll of Tobacco of about ten Pounds Weight, then taking two strings of Wampum in his Hand, He said, 'What he had to deliver Them was from their Father (meaning the French King) and he desired they woud hear what he was about to say to Them'; then he layed them two Strings of Wampum down upon the Caggs, and taking up four other Strings of black and white Wampum, he said, 'that their Father, remembering his Children, had sent them two Caggs of Milk, and some Tobacco, and that he now had made a clear Road for them, to come and see Him and his Officers'; and pressed them very much to come. Then he took another String of Wampum in his Hand, and said, 'their Father now woud forget all little Differences that had been between Them, and desired Them not to be of two Minds, but to let Him know their Minds freely, for He woud send for Them no more.' To which the Pyankeshee King replyed, 'it was true their Father had sent for them several Times, and said the Road was clear, but He understood it was

[1] Chartier's band.

[2] Pownall's edition spells this word "Piankasha."

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made foul & bloody, and by Them.' 'We' (said he) 'have cleared a Road for our Brothers, the English, and your Fathers have made it bad, and have taken some of our Brothers Prisoners, Which We look upon as done to Us,' and he turned short about and went out of Council. After the French Embassador had delivered his Message He went into one of the private Houses and endeavoured much to prevail on some Indians there, and was seen to cry and lament (as he said for the Loss of that Nation).

"Monday, Feb. 25.—This Day We received a Speech from the Wawaughtanneys[1] and Pyankeshees (two Tribes of the Twigtwees). One of the Chiefs of the former spoke: 'Brothers, We have heard what You have said to Us by the Interpreter, and We see You take Pity upon our poor Wives and Children and have taken Us by the Hand into the great Chain of Friendship; therefore We present You with these two Bundles of Skins to make Shoes for your People, and this Pipe to smoak in, to assure You that our hearts are good and true towards You our Brothers; and We hope that We shall all continue in true Love and Friendship with one another, as People with one Head and one Heart ought to do. You have pityed Us as You always did the rest of our Indian Brothers. We hope that Pity You have always shewn, will remain as long as the Sun gives Light, and on our Side you may depend upon sincere and true Friendship towards You as long as We have Strength.' This Person stood up and spoke with the Air and Gesture of an Orator.

"Tuesday, 26.—The Twigtwees delivered the following Answer to the four Indians sent by the French—The Captain of the Warriors stood up and, taking some Strings of black and white Wampum in his Hand, he spoke with a fierce Tone and very warlike Air—'Brothers, the Ottaways,[2] You are always differing with the French Yourselves, and yet You listen to what they say, but We will let You know by these four Strings of Wampum that We will not hear any Thing they say to Us, nor do any Thing they bid Us.' Then the same Speaker with six Strouds, two Match-Coats, and a String of black Wampum (I understood the Goods were in Return for the Milk and Tobacco), and directing his Speech to the French, said,'Fathers, you desire that We may speak our Minds from our Hearts, which I am going to do; You have often desired We should go Home to You, but I tell You it is not our Home, for We have made a Road as far as the Sea, to the Sun-rising, and have been taken by the Hand by our Brothers the English, and the six Nations and the Delawares, Shannoahs, and Wyendotts, and We assure You that is the Road We will go; and as You threaten Us with War in the Spring, We tell You if You are angry We are ready to receive You, and resolve to

[1] Pownall spells it "Wawiaghtas."
[2] Pownall says "Owtawais."

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die here before We will go to You: And that You may know that this is our Mind, We send You this String of black Wampum.' After a short Pause the same Speaker spoke again thus—'Brothers, the Ottaways, You hear what I say, tell that to your Fathers, the French, for that is our Mind and We speak it from our Hearts.'

"Wednesday, 27.—This Day they took down their French Colours, and dismissed the four French Indians, so they took their Leave of the Town and set off for the French Fort.

"Thursday, 28.—The Crier of the Town came by the King's Order and invited Us to the long House to see the Warriors' Feather Dance. It was performed by three Dancing-Masters, who were painted all over with various Colours, with long Sticks in their Hands, upon the Ends of which were fastened long Feathers of Swans, and other Birds, neatly woven in the Shape of a Fowl's Wing: in this Disguise they performed many antick Tricks, waving their Sticks and Feathers about with great Skill, to imitate the flying and fluttering of Birds, keeping exact Time with their Musick; while they are dancing some [one] of the Warriors strikes a Post, upon which the Musick and Dancers cease, and the Warrior gives an Account of his Atchievements in War, and when he has done, throws down some Goods as a Recompence to the Performers and Musicians; after which they proceed in their Dance as before till another Warrior strikes ye Post, and so on, as long as the Company think fit.

"Friday, March 1.—We received the following Speech from the Twigtwees; the Speaker stood up, and addressing himself as to the Governor of Pennsylvania, with two Strings of Wampum in his Hand, He said—'Brothers, our Hearts are glad that You have taken Notice of Us, and surely, Brothers, We hope that You will order a Smith to settle here to mend our Guns and Hatchets, Your Kindness makes Us so bold to ask this Request.[1] You told Us our Friendship should last as long, and be as the greatest Mountain. We have considered well, and all our great Kings & Warriors are come to a Resolution never to give Heed to what the French say to Us, but always to hear & believe what You, our Brothers, say to Us. Brothers, We are obliged to You for your kind Invitation to receive a Present at the Loggs Town, but as our foreign Tribes are not yet come, We must wait for them, but You may depend We will come as soon as our Women have planted Corn, to hear what our Brothers will say to Us. Brothers, We present You with this Bundle of Skins, as We are but poor, to be for Shoes for You on the Road, and We return You our hearty Thanks for the Clothes which You have put upon our Wives and Children.'

"We then took our Leave of the Kings and Chiefs, and they ordered that a small Party of Indians shoud go with Us as far as Hockhockin;

[1] Thomas Burney, a blacksmith, soon afterwards settled at Pickawillany.

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but as I had left my Boy and Horses at the lower Shannoah Town, I was obliged to go by myself, or to go sixty or seventy Miles out of my Way, which I did not care to do; so we all came over the Miamee River together this Evening, but Mr. Croghan & Mr. Montour went over again & lodged in the Town; but I stayed on this Side at one *Robert Smith's* (*a Trader*) where We had left our Horses. Before the French Indians had come into Town, We had drawn Articles of Peace and Alliance between the English and the Wawaughtanneys and Pyankeshees; the Indentures were signed, sealed, and delivered on both Sides, and as I drew them I took a Copy.[1] The Land upon the great Miamee River is very rich, level, and well timbered, some of the finest Meadows that can be: The Indians and Traders assure Me that the Land holds as good, and if possible better, to the Westward, as far as the Obache, which is accounted 100 Miles, and quite up to the Head of the Miamee River, which is 60 Miles above the Twigtwee Town, and down the said River quite to the Ohio, which is reckoned 150 Miles. The Grass here grows to a great Height in the clear Fields, of which there are a great Number, & the Bottoms are full of white Clover, wild Rye, and blue Grass.

"Saturday, March 2.—George Croghan and the rest of our Company came over the River, We got our Horses, & set out about 35M. to Mad Creek (this is a Place where some English Traders [Turner and Kilgore] had been taken Prisoners by the French).

"Sunday, 3.—This Morning We parted, They for Hockhockin, and I for the Shannoah Town; and as I was quite alone and knew that the French Indians had threatened Us, and woud probably pursue or lye in Wait for Us, I left the Path, and went to the South Westward down the little Miamee River or Creek, where I had fine traveling thro rich Land and Beautiful Meadows, in which I coud sometimes see forty or fifty Buffaloes feeding at once. The little Miamee River, or Creek, continued to run thro the Middle of a fine Meadow, about a Mile wide, very clear, like an old Field, and not a Bush in it. I coud see the Buffaloes in it above two Miles off. I travelled this Day about 30M.

"Monday, 4.—This Day I heard several Guns, but was afraid to examine who fired Them, lest they might be some of the French Indians; so I travelled thro the Woods about 30 M.; just at Night I killed a fine barren Cow-Buffaloe and took out her Tongue, and a little of the best of her Meat: The Land still level, rich, and well timbered with Oak, Walnut, Ash, Locust, and Sugar Trees.

"Tuesday, 5.—I travelled about 30 M.

"Wednesday, 6.—I travelled about 30 M., and killed a fat Bear.

"Thursday, 7.—Set out with my Horse Load of Bear and travelled about 30 M. This Afternoon I met a young Man, a Trader, and We

[1] They are printed in *Penna. Col. Rec.*, v., pp. 522–524.

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encamped together that Night; He happened to have some Bread with Him, and I had plenty of Meat, so We fared very well.

"Friday, 8.—Travelled about 30 M., and arrived at Night at the Shannoah Town—All the Indians, as well as the white Men, came out to welcome my Return to their Town, being very glad that all Things were rightly settled in the Miamee Country. They fired upwards of 150 Guns in the Town, and made an Entertainment in Honour of the late Peace with the western Indians. In my Return from the Twigtwee to the Shannoah Town, I did not keep an exact Account of Course or Distance; for as the Land thereabouts was every where much the same, and the Situation of the Country was sufficiently described in my Journey to the Twigtwee Town, I thought it unnecessary, but have notwithstanding laid down my Tract pretty nearly in my Plot."

When Gist travelled from Logstown to the Lower Shawnee Town, he followed the Main Path as far as to Hockhocking, which led both to Lower Shawnee Town and to Pickawillany. This path divided some fifteen to twenty miles west of Hockhocking (now Lancaster, Fairfield County, Ohio), the main branch leading southwards along the Scioto to the Lower Shawnee Town at its mouth; and the newer branch leading westward to Pickawillany. The path forked at or in the neighborhood of Maguck, which stood on the Pickaway Plains, in the present county of Pickaway, some three and one-half miles south of Circleville. Maguck, according to Gist's distances, was fifteen miles southwest of Hockhocking. The distance between Lancaster, Ohio, and Circleville, to-day, by the Cincinnati & Muskingum Valley Railroad, is twenty-one miles; so that Maguck was quite that far from Hockhocking. On his map of 1755, Lewis Evans shows the trail leading from Hockhocking, or French Margaret's Town, westward to Pickawillany; and crossing the Scioto at a point a few miles north of a Delaware town which Evans locates on the west bank of Scioto, and which may be intended for Maguck. At the point where the trail reaches the west bank, Evans shows that it was intersected by a north and south trail connecting the Wyandot town on Sandusky Bay with the Lower Shawnee Town. From the point of this intersection, the Pickawillany Path leads in a southwest direction, "35 miles," to the head waters of the Little Miami River, and three miles beyond to the crossing of Mad Creek; thence, almost directly, west, "30 miles," to "Picque Town," or Pickawillany. Gist stated that, to have returned with Croghan from Mad Creek to Maguck, while on his way back to the Lower Shawnee Town, would have taken him some sixty or seventy miles out of his way. As a matter of fact, the site of Pickawillany is distant from the site of Maguck some sixty-eight miles west, and forty-five miles north; or about eighty-one miles on a direct line.

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As no record of the path between these two points has been preserved, we can only assume that its general direction was northwest (though Evans's map makes the course southwest), across the present counties of Pickaway, Madison, Clark, Champaign, Logan, and Miami. One of the later Indian trails, which may have followed the course of the old Pickawillany Path, ran from the Scioto up the Darby Valley for some twenty miles, then proceeded in a northwest direction to Deer Creek, following that stream, possibly on the west side, to its head; thence across the head waters of Buck Creek, crossing Mad River above the present city of Urbana; thence southwest across the head of Rush Creek to the Great Miami.[1] Governor Horatio Sharpe wrote from Maryland to Governor Morris, December 10, 1754, that he had "received advice that about 300 French families have settled this Fall at the Mad Creek, a great deal on this side the Twigtwee Town, and not far from the Maguak [Maguck]."

William Trent wrote Richard Peters as follows, from Pennsboro March 7, 1751:

SIR—I received your letter pr. John Holmes, with the money, and am very much obliged to you. You may depend upon my doing the utmost in my Power for the hastening the payment of yr. Money.

One of our Men just come from Allegheny for Provisions, says that the Winter has been the hardest ever known in them parts, and Provisions so scarce that a Peck of Corn will fetch five shillings. The Indians has parted with what corn they had to spare already, to the Traders, to keep their Horses alive; which makes them affraid if they part with more, they 'll suffer themselves before the next Crop. The Traders have lost a great menay Horses, amongest which I am affraid we are no small sufferers.

This man says that it was reported by a party of Warriors that came to the Town where he was, *that three of the Traders' Men were taken by the French Indians. By the Acco't, the Men and Goods must be ours. He also says that it was reported that a Body of French and French Indians intended for the Twigtwee Country, to destroy the English Traders there, as soon as the season would permit.*[2]

I understand that there 's severall Hundred familys intend to remove over the Hills this Spring, & those that are over have no thoughts of removing.

Mr. Miller desired that I would acquaint you that he used the utmost of his power to get the Widow to part with her Place at a reasonable Price, but she would not consent to let it goe for less than what he wrote you.

I am, Sr., your most obedient, humb., St.,

WILLIAM TRENT.[3]

[1] See Lewis's "Map of Indian Towns and Trails," in Evan's *Scioto County*.

[2] The captured Traders were probably Irwin, Burk, and Faulkner. See pp. 189–192

[3] Original letter in possession of C. A. Hanna.

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At a meeting of the Pennsylvania Council held May 7, 1751, Governor Hamilton informed the members that George Croghan had been in town and given him intelligence that the French Indians had made prisoners of three of the Traders' men and their goods, whom Croghan supposed to be his men (probably Luke Irwin, Thomas Burk, and Joseph Faulkner); and "that it was reported that a body of French and French Indians had determined for the Twightwee Country, to destroy the English Traders there, as soon as the season would permit." Croghan prophetically added that if some measures were not speedily taken to encourage the Indians to join and repel the French, the English interest would soon come to nothing in those parts, and "if they should lose themselves with those Indians the Six Nations would not long continue their regards for the English."

Governor Hamilton also stated that "Mr. Croghan further related, that in February last, he and Andrew Montour had been with the Twightwees on the Big Miamis Creek, a branch of the River Ohio; and that at the time they were there, two nations, called the Waughwaoughtanneys and Pyankeshees, two tribes of the Twightwee Nation, came into Council and desired they might be admitted into the alliance of the English; that thereupon, Mr. Montour and he (though they had no authority from the Governor) rather than discourage these people at so critical a time, did hearken to them, and drew up an instrument which was executed on both sides; that he, the Governor, had reproved Mr. Croghan for acting in public matters without his orders, but had, however, taken the instrument from him."

Six years later Croghan wrote to Sir William Johnson of this treaty with the Twightwees' allied tribes, saying that on his return he sent a copy of his proceedings to the Governor. "On his laying it before the House of Assembly, it was rejected, and myself condemned for bad conduct in drawing an additional expense on the Government, and the Indians were neglected." Nevertheless, Croghan and Montour carried a present to the Indians of the Ohio Country, whom they met at Logstown in May, 1751. At this conference Croghan delivered a message from Governor Hamilton to the Twightwee deputies who were present, stating that the Governor had seen and approved the treaty which had been signed at Pickawillany by Croghan and the chiefs of the Ouiatanons and Piankishas three months before.

Captain Raymond, brother of the Comte de Raymond, was Commandant at the Miamis Fort in 1749 and 1750, and superseded by Louis Coulon de Villiers (the officer to whom Washington surrendered at Great Meadows in 1754) in the latter part of 1750. In a memorial addressed by him to the French Secretary of State, October 1, 1751, Captain Raymond, in enumerating his services, states that "In 1749 the General

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detached him from the command of that [Niagara] garrison, and sent him orders to go and take command at the Miamis post; where he stopped *Le Pied Froid*, the great chief of the Miamis nation, and all his band, who were about to abandon that post and go over to the English. By his [Raymond's] continual efforts and watchfulness, and the care he took to maintain spies among the revolted Miamis, he discovered the intrigues of a conspiracy, balked its plans, and frustrated their execution. That conspiracy had been hatched by the Pianguichias, the Ouyatanons of the band of *Le Comte*, the revolted Miamis, the Chaouanons, and a number of renegade Yrocois who had withdrawn to the Belle Riviere, and had drawn into their plot the nations of the Ylinois Country, who were to act at the time indicated to them. . . . By those negotiations he won over the families of *Le Pean* and of *Le Sac a Petun*, the leading ones among the revolted Miamis. . . . The Sieur de Villiers . . . was to bring back the revolted Miamis at once . . . : but who, nevertheless, obtained no other result than seeing the band of *Le Pied Froid* leave the post of Miamis and go over to the English [apparently a little before the time of Gist's visit to Pickawillany], without being able to stop them; and there remained with the Sieur de Villiers at that post only *Le Pied Froid* and his family, making three or four lodges. The families of *Le Pean* and of *Le Sac a Petun*, who had just come to Miamis to join him [Raymond], would no longer hear of returning when they heard of his recall. . . . When the Sieur de Villiers appeared at *Riviere à la Roche* [Great Miami], far from having the credit of bringing back the revolted Miamis, the latter would not listen to him, but sent him back in so contemptous a manner that he returned to his post without a word, and quicker than he left it."

Lieutenant Benjamin Stoddart wrote to Colonel William Johnson from Fort Oswego, July 19, 1751: "Have but just time to acquaint you that there passed by here a few days ago some canoes of French Traders, who say there was an army gone up the other side the Lake [Ontario], with which was two hundred Orondack [Adirondack] Indians, under the command of Monsr. Beletre and Chevalier Longville, and that their design was against a village of the Twigtwees, where the English are building a trading house of stone; and that they are to give the English warning to move off in a peaceable manner, which if they refused, they were to act with force. And that they intended to build a Fort there, and garrison it with three hundred men. The Governor's son, of Montreal, is hourly expected to pass by here with fourteen canoes of soldiers, which are then destined to be stationed at the above place. This is the Village where George Croghan generally trades, all the Indians of which are firmly attached to the English; for which reason the French call them Rebels, and are going to bring them into subjection. Two of the chiefs

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[La Demoiselle was one] are to have no mercy; the others, if they submit, are to be pardoned."

A detailed account of this expedition is given in a letter written by Captain Thomas Cresap to Governor Dinwiddie, shortly after the arrival of the latter in Virginia (November 20, 1751). Cresap's letter is not dated, but it was answered by Dinwiddie January 23, 1752. It reads in part as follows:[1]

May It Please Your Honour:

Having just now received the following accot. from Mr. Andrew Muntour, who is on his journey home from the Ohio, and who is the proper person to be our interpreter, having a good character, both among white people and Indians, and very much beloved by the latter, I thought proper to communicate it to your Honour's consideration, which is as follows:

That, a few days before he left the Loggs Town, there came seven French Traders, with a parcel of goods, and invited the Indians to a Council. Accordingly, the Indians that were there met to hear what they had to say to them; but as Mr. Muntour was in the Town at that time, the Indians refused to receive their speech without him, tho' the French were very unwilling to have him for an Interpreter. But, finding the Indians would do nothing without him, they agreed to admit him. They produced a string of wampum, which, they said, they brought from the Governor of Canada, as a token of his friendship, and to invite the Shannah Indians to a Council, to be held at the Loggs Town early in the spring, when sundry matters of consequence are to be communicated to them from the said Governor, and also a present to be delivered from him to them.

Mr. Montour informs me that he had a brother [Louis Montour] who was interpreter between the French and Indians for a considerable time past, at a Fort called Detroit, on Lake Eare; but he has now left them and come to the Ohio, and gives the following accot.:

That the French had built a new fort at a place called Kyhogo [on the north shore of Sandusky Bay, in the latter part of 1750] on the west side of Lake Eare; and that there was a great number of French gathered together [there?] last fall, in order to cut off a nation of Indians called Pickolines, who came from the French about four years ago, and settled on the branches of the Ohio; but the Taways and Chipos interfered, and told the French in a public council, which was called, and a large belt of wampum delivered, that they understood that they were about to go and strike their brothers, the Picks, which, if they did, they should assist them, and strike the French; upon which the French desisted going last fall, but threatened to go this spring.

But tho' they did not then go themselves, they sent a party of Indians which they had brought with them from Canada, to the number of seventy, called Adarundacks, sent by the Governor of that place; which Indians, in their way to the Picks, called at the Ottawas [on the Maumee?], all painted for war.

The Ottawas enquired where they were going; on which they

[1] *Virginia State Papers*, i., 245–47.

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showed them the belt of wampum and hatchet they had received from the French, and told them they were going to war against the Twightwees. The Ottawas told them that the Twightwees were married and intermarried among them, and the Ottawana King, upon the Capt. of the Arundacks insisting to go on, threw down his Tomhawk on the ground, and told them that if they moved one step further, he would have their scalps, or else they his.

Whilst they were parleying, three of the Adarundacks stole off unperceived, and went to the Twightwees, and scalped an old man and women in the corn-fields, and carried them off; but the rest did not proceed. The Twightwees followed them on their tracks, till they came near the French Fort, which made them imagine it was the Ottawas that had struck them; and were preparing to revenge it; till the Pianguisha King's son, who was married to an Ottawana woman, came and told them who it was that had done it; and that it was the French that had set them on. Upon which the Twightwees sent out three men, who brought in two French scalps; and they now want to see how the French will take it before they proceed any further.

The French account of this attack on the Twightwees is contained in a letter written by La Jonquiere to the Minister, from Quebec, October 29, 1751. It reads as follows:

My Lord:—In my letter of the 13th of last month, I had the honour to inform you that the orders I had given to M. de Celoron through my secret instruction had not been executed, and that I had given him further orders in such an explicit manner that I was sure nothing could prevent him to go and attack the Miamis and other rebels, and to capture by armed force the Fort "La Demoiselle."

The news I have received from M. de Celoron are so contradictory as to warrant me to believe that I should not rely on the proposed expedition. In fact, all his movements, all the precautions and steps he has taken to comply with my views amount to do nothing.

However embarrassed M. de Celoron may be, especially as he cannot offer any valid excuse, I can truly say that he shall never be so sorry as I am. It is impossible to express how this affair has afflicted me; it prevents me from sleeping, and I am even sick.

It is a pity that I should be obliged to complain. If M. de Celoron were Commandant at Detroit by my orders, I would not have hesitated to relieve him on the moment he should have neglected to execute fully and exactly my first orders; which induces me to have the honor, My Lord, to represent to you that, for the advantage of the service, it would be better not to appoint any more by royal commission, commandants of the posts. . . .

The Sieur de Belestre, whom I had detached with 50 Alkonkins and Nipissingues, has surmounted all the obstacles which were, at every moment, set up against him. He left the Detroit with 17 men, the balance of the Indians having abandoned him; annexed herewith a copy of his *Journal*.

The following interesting facts may be gathered from the above-mentioned *Journal:*

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1st. An Outaouais informed the chiefs of the Nepissingues and Alkonkins that on the day of the Sieur de Belestre's arrival at Detroit, a woman had left the place for "La Demoiselle," to warn them of what was going on; that the residents of Detroit made good promises to M. de Celoron solely for the purpose of deceiving him; and that, should he go to "La Demoiselle," he would find there only the Fort.

2d. Warriors who were returning from the country of the "Tetes Plattes" [Flat-heads, *i.e.*, Cherokees, etc.], reported that they had passed at "La Demoiselle"; that there were but women in the Fort; that the said Fort was only partially built; that all the warriors were hunting, and dying of hunger.

3d. The Sr. de Belestre said to M. de Celoron that one hundred and fifty men were enough, on account of the small number of Miamis and the bad state of their Fort, to oust them or bring them back to M. de Villiers's post.

4th. Finally, the Sieur de Belestre did not find any one in the wigwams of the Miamis. They had all flown away the day before. He could not make an attack on the Fort, as he had very few men with him; however, he detached four men in order to secure some prisoners; failing to do so, they killed a man and a woman, the hair of whom he has handed to me. . . .

This is the third attempt that fails. What shall the savages think, they who presently are perhaps aware of my plans? Shall not the English turn this to account to more and more bribe these nations? These overwhelming thoughts have caused me an incomprehensible grief. . . .

The copy of Bellestre's *Journal* mentioned in La Jonquiere's letter is not with the transcript of the letter in the Canadian archives, although it may still be preserved in Paris. This letter makes it appear that Bellestre approached very near to Pickawillany; and from Montour's account it would seem that his base of operations against La Demoiselle's Fort may have been the Fort which the French had built the winter before on the north side of Sandusky Bay.

One day before the foregoing letter was written by La Jonquiere, a message was received by the New York Council from Lieutenant Mills, at Fort Oswego, stating that the expedition of M. Bellatre against the Twightwees had failed, because the Ottawas refused to join in it, and because of small-pox among the Indians; but that it would be tried again the following spring, with the help of the Orondacks, Abenakis, and Micmacs.

La Jonquiere died in March, 1752, and was succeeded by Longueuil, who served as Governor until the arrival of General Duquesne in the following August. Longueuil wrote the Ministry April 21st a most discouraging letter on the progress and prospects of the French projects in the West. Its summary has been given in the first chapter of this book; some of its details follow:

My Lord—The late Marquis de la Jonquiere had the honor to

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report to you, in his letter of the 13th September, the ill success of the orders he had given in a secret instruction to M. de Celoron; that the band of La Demoiselle and other Indians of the Beautiful River had pushed their rebellion to excess, had adopted the English, and had openly declared themselves the sworn enemies of the French.

In the same letter, that General had the honor to inform you that he had adopted wise measures to secure the conquest of La Demoiselle's Fort, to expel the English from the Beautiful River, to punish the Indian nations, and to make them feel the King's power. . . .

But the despatch which that General had the honor to write you on the 29th of October on the subject of M. de Belestre's voyage, and of the [Miami] scalps taken by the Nipissings [of Bellestre's party], will only create an apprehension in your mind that his orders and purest intentions would be fruitless.

In fact, my Lord, the orders which M. de la Jonquiere despatched last Spring to M. de Celoron [at Detroit], and repeated in his letter to him of the first of October, were not executed any more than those he had given as far back as 1750, before his departure for Detroit. . . .

From the accounts which M. de Celoron transmitted to the late M. de la Jonquiere subsequent to those, a detail of which that General had the honor to give you, and previous to M. Celoron's being able to receive his last orders, sent in his letter of the first of October, it appears that it will be out of his power to make any movement.

He observes, first, that after the arrival of the militia men under the command of Lieutenant de Longueuil, and twenty days' consultation among the nations, the latter had concluded, our force being insufficient to attack La Demoiselle and his allies, to keep the hatchet, to use it when complete success would be certain, and to wait until the Spring. . . .

In a letter of the 18th of September, M. de Celoron notifies M. de la Jonquiere that no dependence is to be placed on the Indians for any expedition; although Mickinac [an Ottawa chief] had assured him that nothing but the fear of the small-pox had stopped him, and that all the villages will march in the Spring, if forces be sent. . . .

M. de Villiers, Commandant at the Miamis, has been disappointed in his expectation of bringing the Miamis back from the White River, part of whom had been to see him, the small-pox having put the whole of them to the route. Cold Foot and his son had died of it, as well as a large portion of our most trusty Indians. Le Gris, chief of the Tepicons [a clan of the Miamis, probably located on the Tippecanoe River], and his mother are likewise dead; they are a loss, because they were well disposed towards the French.

The nations of the River St. Joseph, who were to join those of Detroit, have said that they would be ready to perform their promise as soon as Onontio would have sent the necessary number of Frenchmen. The Commandant of this post writes us on the 15th of January that all the nations appear to take sides against us; that he would not be responsible for the good dispositions these Indians seem to entertain, inasmuch as the Miamis are their near relatives.

The Missilimakina nations, who had in like manner promised, have not budged either.

It is exceedingly probable that the Commandant of Fort Chartres will not have any greater authority over the nations of his post. . . .

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On the other hand, M. de Joncaire repeats that the Indians of the Beautiful River are all English, for whom alone they work; that they are all resolved to sustain each other; and that not a party goes to the Beautiful River but leaves some there to increase the rebel forces.

On the other hand M. de St. Ange, Commandant of the post of Vincennes, writes to M. Desligneris to use all means to protect himself from the storm which is ready to burst on the French; that he is busy securing himself against the fury of our enemies.

The commandants of our posts have so much more cause to be on their guard against all events, as our enemies have steeped their hands in French blood, and as we feel deeply the cost of the two scalps taken by the Nepissings near La Demoiselle's village.

The Miamis of Rock River have scalped two soldiers belonging to M. de Villiers's Fort; this blow was struck last Fall, doubtless shortly after that of the Nepissings.

The Pianguichias, who were at war with the Chaouanons, according to the report rendered by M. St. Clin to the late M. de la Jonquiere, have declared entirely against us. They killed at Christmas five Frenchmen at the Vermillion. M. Desligneris, who was aware of this attack, sent off a detachment to secure the effects of the Frenchmen from being plundered, but when this detachment arrived at the Vermillion, the Pianguichias had decamped. The bodies of the Frenchmen were found on the ice. . . .

On the 19th of October, the Pianguichias had killed two more Frenchmen, who were constructing pirogues, lower down than the post of Vincennes.

Two days afterwards the Pianguichias killed two slaves in sight of Fort Vincennes. . . .

M. de Joncaire writes, on the 30th of August, that he had just learned that a meeting of the Illinois, Ouyas, Pianguichias, Miamis, Delawares, Chaouanons, and the Five Iroquois Nations, was to be had this year at La Demoiselle's; and that the whole tends, in his opinion, to a general revolt. . . .

Finally, the English have paid the Miamis for the scalps of the two soldiers belonging to M de Villiers's garrison.

To so many circumstances, equally critical, are superadded the scarcity of provisions, and great appearance of famine at our Southern posts. . . .

The crops have also failed at the Beautiful River. M. de Joncaire and the other Frenchmen have been reduced to a couple of handsful of Indian corn a day; neither meat, nor grease, nor salt.

Famine is not the only scourge we experience; the small-pox commits ravages; it begins to reach Detroit. One woman has died of it at the Huron Village.

This disease prevails also at the Beautiful River.

'T were desirable that it should break out and spread, generally, throughout the localities inhabited by our rebels. It would be fully as good as an army.[1]

Before the small-pox broke out at Detroit, 40 persons died belonging

[1] In the chapter on the Conchake Route, we have seen that the small-pox depopulated the village of Conchake on the Muskingum in the years 1752–53.

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to the Village of the Outtauois, and almost as many at the Pouteouatamis.

Kinousaki is likewise dead. We lose a chief who was, apparently, much attached to the French.

These successes of La Demoiselle in his plotting against the French were not without their cost. George Croghan wrote to Governor Hamilton, February 8, 1752, enclosing a message from the Shawnee chiefs of the Lower Town, and assuring the Governor that these chiefs, "with the rest of the nations in those parts, are determined to be revenged on the French for the thirty men of the Twightwees that the French have killed this winter." The Shawnees said in their message: "All the nations settled on this River Ohio and on this side the lakes are in friendship, and live as one people; but the French, who are directed by the Evil Spirit and not God, trouble us much; they have often cheated us with their advice; and we won't listen to them any more, they threaten to cut us off, and have killed thirty of our brothers, the Twightwees. And we now acquaint you that we intend to strike the French, and not suffer ourselves to be deceived any more by our deceitful Fathers and Brothers."

Governor Clinton sent copies of two letters to Governor James Hamilton, from Fort George in New York, May 23, 1752. The first of these was from Martin Kellogg to Colonel William Johnson, dated Stockbridge, April 13, 1752; the other was from Lieutenant John Mills, Commandant at the Oswego Fort, also to Colonel Johnson, and dated April 27th. Martin Kellogg's letter stated that "by a Mohawk from Connajaharie we are informed the Tawectawees invited several tribes to smoke with them at or about the beginning of January last past; signified their desire of making war with the French; and has ordered three French to be killed, to say, an officer and two soldiers; took another, cut off his ears, sent him to Canada to do word to the Governor, etc. 'T is also said our Six Nations will join with them to war against Canada and others of the tribes."

Lieutenant Mills related in his letter that, "Monsieur St. Orr, a French officer, who was going express for [from] De Troit to Canada, called here on Thursday last. . . . By some foreign Indians, just arrived, I am told that the Twightwees have killed fifteen of the French, and that the above-mentioned officer is gone to Canada to conduct an army back, to be employed against them, pursuant to my report last Fall."

Governor Hamilton answered Governor Clinton June 11th, telling him that as the Twightwees had not signified to him the occurrence of anything of the kind mentioned in the letters of Colonel Johnson's correspondents, he was inclined to think that matters had not proceeded to the length there represented. "At the same time," he added, "I am firmly persuaded the French, whenever they think themselves strong

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enough, will not omit any opportunity of reducing those people to obedience; and it is a great mortification to me to find myself so embarrassed in that respect by the religious scruples of one branch of our legislature, that I fear it would not be in my power (whatever necessity there might be for it) to afford our Indian allies that assistance and protection my own inclination leads me to, and which the interest of this part of His Majesty's dominions seems to demand."

Ten days after this letter was written, Pickawillany was destroyed by the French Indians.

The news of this catastrophe was brought to Governor Hamilton by means of the following letter, written by the Trader, Robert Callender, from Carlisle, August 30, 1752:

"Last night, Thomas Burney, who lately resided at the Twightwees' Town in Allegheny [*i.e.*, the Ohio country], came here, and gives the following account of the unhappy affair that was lately transacted there: On the twenty-first day of June last, early in the morning, two Frenchmen and about two hundred and forty Indians came to the Twightwees' Town, and in a hostile manner attacked the people there residing. In the skirmish there was one white man and fourteen Indians killed, and five white men taken prisoners.

"The party who came to the Twightwees' Town reported that they had received as a commission, two belts of wampum from the Governor of Canada, to kill all such Indians as are in amity with the English, and to take the persons and effects of all such English Traders as they could meet with; but not to kill any of them if they could avoid it; which instructions were in some measure obeyed.

"Mr. Burney is now here, and is willing to be qualified not only to this but to sundry other matters which he can discover concerning this affair. . . .

"Inclosed Your Honour has the Twightwees' speech to Mr. Burney, with a scalp and five strings of wampum per bearer. Fifteen days after the taking of the Town, Thomas Burney and Capt. Trent, with twenty Indians, went back to the Town, where they found all the Indians were fled; and on their return, met with three of their chiefs, whom Capt. Trent delivered the Virginia presents to, as he had them with him. These chiefs informed them the Indians were gone eighty miles from thence, and there would reside till they heard further from their Brothers."

The message of the Twightwees to the Governor was as follows:

Brother Onas: We, your brothers, the Twightwees, have sent you by our brother, Thomas Burney, a scalp and five strings of wampum, in token of our late unhappy affair at the Twightwees' Town; and whereas, our Brother has always been kind to us, hope he will now put us in a

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method how to act against the French; being more discouraged for the loss of our Brother, the Englishman who was killed, and the five who were taken prisoners, than for the loss of ourselves. And notwithstanding the two belts of wampum which were sent from the Governor of Canada as a commission to destroy us, we still shall hold our integrity with our brothers, and are willing to die for them; and will never give up this treatment; although we saw our Great Piankashaw King (which commonly was called Old Britain by us) taken, killed, and eaten within a hundred yards of the Fort, before our faces. We now look upon ourselves as lost people, fearing that our brothers will leave us; but before we will be subject to the French or call them our Fathers, we will perish here.

The Baron de Longueuil wrote to the French Minister from Quebec August 18, 1752: "The situation of our affairs in the neighborhood of Detroit became every day more unfavorable, and in addition to that misfortune I was under the dire necessity of giving up, owing to lack of provisions, a project which I had formed to avenge the death of our Frenchmen, and to bring back our rebels. All the commandants assured me of their conspiracy against the French, and I was not able to apply a remedy. Fortunately, a party of about 210 savages of Missilimakinac attacked the Fort of La Demoiselle, who is dead; and they destroyed about 26; and the others asked for pardon. They promise that the chiefs of that party will go down to Montreal. M. le General [Du Quesne] will confer with them, and I hope that he will re-establish tranquility in the country most threatened. . . . I will add, My Lord, that among the number of savages who are reported to be killed there, were six English Traders, whose magazines were destroyed by our savages."

Duquesne wrote to the Minister October 25, 1752:

I have the honor to send you the *Journal* [this has not been found] of the Sieur [Charles] Langlade, who has won much glory through the blow he struck the band of La Demoiselle, and who brought me five Englishmen who were in the Fort of the Miamis. I am sending them to Monsieur L'Abbady, Commissioner at La Rochelle, so that he may commit them to prison to await your orders. I hope that this blow, taken with the total pillage that the English have sustained on this occasion, will deter them from coming to carry on trade in our lands.

It is so rare, My Lord, that a war with savages can bring about a very stable peace, that I should not be surprised if, at the instigation of the English, the Miamis were to request the assistance of their allies. However, I have had no news of this, and I hope that my proceeding at the Belle Riviere will impress all the nations.

As the Sieur Langlade is not in the service [the Mackinac Register records him as being a cadet in 1750, when twenty-one years of age], and has married a squaw, I will limit my demands on you, My Lord, to an annual pension of 200 francs, with which he will be exceedingly flattered. They credit him with much bravery, much influence on the minds of the savages, and much zeal when ordered to act.

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It seems to me, My Lord, that such a recompense would have a very good effect in the Country.

Captain William Trent was at Logstown with the Commissioners of Virginia, George Croghan, Andrew Montour, and others, in June, 1752, for the purpose of making a present to the Ohio Indians and obtaining from them a grant of land southeast of the River for the Ohio Company of Virginia. A part of the present being designed for the Twightwees, Capt. Trent and Andrew Montour were sent with it from Logstown while the Commissioners were there. Trent's *Journal* of this journey has long been out of print, and is here given in full:

TRENT'S JOURNAL

"June the 21st, 1752. We left the Logstown.

"25th. We met a white man who had been thirteen days from the Pick Town; he informed us that the French Indians had been there, and that twenty-five families of the Picks or Twightwees had gone back with them to the French.

"27th. We met a Mingoe man called Powell, who had been then just twenty days from Fort D'Troit, and ten days before he left the Fort three hundred French and Indians had set off, either to persuade the Twightwees back to the French, else to cut them off.

"29th. We got to Muskingum,[1] 150 miles from the Logstown, where we met some white men from Hockhocken, who told us the Town was taken and all the white men killed, the young Shawanees king having made his escape and brought the news.

"July the 2d. We reached Hockhocken, where we met with William Ives, who passed by the Twightwee Town in the night. He informed us that the white men's houses were all on fire, and that he heard no noise in the Fort, only one gun fired, and two or three hollows.

"3d. We got to the Meguck, where we heard much the same news, which made us conclude to go to the Lower Shawanees Town with the goods, that we might know the certainty.

"6th. We arrived at the Lower Shawanees Town, where the Indians received us very kindly, with the firing of guns, and whooping and hollowing, according to their custom, and conducted us to the Long House (the council house), where, after they had given us victuals, they inquired the news; we told them the next day we would let them know everything. Then Thomas Burney and Andrew McBryer, the only two men that escaped, when the [Pick] Town was attacked, came to us and told us that 240 French and Indians, on the 21st of June,

[1] Conchake Town of the Huron Wyandots, near the site of the present Coshocton, Ohio, and from which the latter, as well as the Delaware Town of Goschachgunk, which afterwards stood on the site of Coshocton, both took their names.

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about nine o'clock in the morning, surprised the Indians in the cornfields, and that they came so suddenly on them that the white men, who were in their houses, had the utmost difficulty to reach the Fort. Three, not being able to get to the Fort, shut themselves up in one of the houses. At this time there were but twenty men and boys in the Fort, including the white men. The French and Indians having taken possession of the white men's houses, some of which were within ten yards of the Fort, they kept a smart fire on the Fort till the afternoon, and had taken the three white men who had shut themselves up in one of the houses. Though they had plenty of arms and ammunition in the house, they could not be prevailed upon by the white men and Indians in the Fort to fire a gun, though they encouraged them as much as possible, but as soon as they were taken, told how many white men were in the Fort. The French and Indians, in the afternoon, let the Twightwees know that if they would deliver up the white men that were in the Fort, they would break up the siege and go home. After a consultation it was agreed by the Indians and whites that as there were so few men, and no water in the Fort, it was better to deliver up the white men, with beaver and wampum to the Indians not to hurt them, than for the Fort to be taken, and all to be at their mercy. The white men were delivered up accordingly, except Burney and Andrew, whom the Indians hid. One of the white men that was wounded in the belly, as soon as they got him they stabbed and scalped, and took out his heart and eat it. Upon receiving the white men they delivered up all the Indian women they had prisoners, and set off with the plunder they got out of the white men's houses, amounting to about three thousand pounds. They killed one Englishman and took [five] prisoners; one Mingoe and one Shawanees killed, and three Twightwees; one of them, the old Pianguisha king, called by the English Old Britain, who, for his attachment to the English, they boiled and eat him all up.

"7th. Scaruneate,[1] with some more of the Six Nations, came to us in the morning and asked us if we would go with them, in order to bring the remaining Twightwees this way; we told them that we would; then we went to the Long House and showed them our belts, and speeches with each belt. Then the Shawanees that had been at the Twightwees

[1] *Scaruneate* seems to have been another form of *Scarrooyady*, the name of the chief who was also called Monacatoocha, by George Washington (*Journals* of 1753 and 1754); Scaiohady by James Logan and Conrad Weiser (*Pa. Col. Rec.*, v., 147, 358); Orscanyadee by one of George Croghan's Traders (*Pa. Arch.*, i., 737); and Skirooniatta, by John Davison, a Trader and interpreter (*Pa. Col. Rec.*, vi., 616). He was reported as being "old and infirm" in 1747, but lived long enough to take a more active part in fighting the French (with Washington in 1753 and 1754; at Braddock's Defeat in 1755; and as scout and messenger in 1756 and 1757) than any other resident of Pennsylvania save, possibly, Andrew Montour and Col. John Armstrong.

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produced the wampum they brought, on a large black belt, with a scalp tied to the end of it, with this speech:

"'Brothers: We have struck the French, and we expect that all nations in alliance with us will do the same.'

"The next was a string of black wampum from the captains and warriors of the Twightwees to the captains and warriors of all nations in alliance with them, letting them know that they put their women and children under their care; that inasmuch as they expect that they would all assist them, and that they had not forgot the league betwixt them.

"The next was a large white belt that the Six Nations had sent them upon their first being friends, which was to let them know the situation they were in was bad, and that they should move from the Fort with their own people, or the Six Nations, whoever should come first, that they might be in a place of safety; but back with the French they never would go. They also let them know that in the time of the battle the French and Indians called to them, and told them they were dead, whether they killed them or no, for the English and Six Nations would put them all to death; upon which they made them this answer: 'You are liars! You have killed all of us, and we 'll be revenged.'

"July 12th. We left the Lower Shawanees Town with twenty-two men and boys, whites and Indians, instead of above a hundred, which we expected, occasioned by a quantity of liquor coming to town. The chief we had belonged to the Six Nations.

"19th. We lay about twenty miles this side of the Pick Town. Before we took up we heard three guns. We sent some young men out to discover who they were, but they returned without finding anybody. About midnight some of our people that were awake heard a hollow and two whistles; they waked us, and we lay awake the rest of the night, with our guns in our hands.

"20th. We sent two men off in the morning to view the town; they met us about five miles on this side of the town and told us that it was deserted, and that there were two French flags flying. We went to the town, unloaded our horses and turned them into the cornfields, and hoisted the English colors; we sent out people to track which way they were gone; they found where two men, the day before, had been sitting in the cornfields, which we suppose to be some of the enemy watching the Fort. They found the people's tracks down the creek, one part of which had taken through the woods, for the Lower Shawanees Town, and the rest had gone towards their own people. We got water in the Fort, and secured two of the Fort gates; the other we left open for our people to go in and out at. A little after dark we heard three guns fired along the French road, upon which we sent four young men out to scout about the edge of the woods, to see what they could discover, and the

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rest of us kept awake all night, at the Fort gate, with our guns in our hands.

"21st. In the morning we tied up part of the skins that were left in the Fort, and lent the man whom the skins belonged to our riding horses to bring them off. We sent some people out along the French road, but they returned without discovering any of the enemy. They found a blue jacket and a shirt stabbed in six or seven places, all bloody, which we suppose belonged to some of the Indians that were killed. About noon we set off upon the people's track down the creek. We went about seven miles, and then took up in order to kill meat, having no provisions but what we killed.

"29th. We reached the Shawanees Town after a very tiresome and tedious journey, having then carried the goods between six and seven hundred miles, the weather the hottest that ever was known in these parts, many of the Indian dogs dropping dead as they were hunting; the runs and creeks were so dry, that we were almost perished for want of water, having traveled one day two and twenty miles without a drop. After we had refreshed ourselves we went to see the Twightwees, and found that the young Pianguisha king, Musheguanockque, or the Turtle, two more men, Old Britain's wife and son, with about a dozen women and their children were come this way.

"August 4th. When the six Cherokees were coming into town, the Shawanees sent for us to the place they had made to receive them, After we had been there some time they hoisted a suit of French colors, which the French had given to Nucheconner.[1] I got up and told them that I looked upon the hoisting of them colors as an affront to his Majesty, the King of Great Britain, and as I was doing the King's business, I could hear no Councils under them, upon which Mr. Montour and myself got up and went away. As soon as an Indian, called the Blue Shadow, understood it, he struck them, and throwed them away as far as he could throw them.

"'Brothers, the Twightwees: We present you with this string of wampum to wash away the blood, and to take away grief from your hearts.' [We gave a string of black and white wampum.]

"The Six Nations then spoke to the Twightwees: 'Brothers, the Twightwees: We present you with this string of wampum to wipe away your tears, that you may see clearly what we and your brothers, the English, are going to say to you.' [Gave a string of black and white wampum.]

"The Six Nations spoke again to the Twightwees: 'Brothers, the Twightwees: We present you with this string of wampum to clear your hearts and open your minds, that you may understand rightly what

[1] He had fled down the Allegheny with Peter Chartier in 1745.

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your brothers, the English, are going to say to you,' [Gave a string of white wampum.]

"'Brothers, the Twightwees: We must now inform you that your brothers, the Delawares, desired us to remember the treaty made betwixt us, the Six Nations, the Shawanees, Wyandots, and themselves, with you, and they desire that you would go down and brighten the chain, and renew the friendship already made betwixt us, and they further desire the English and the Six Nations to put their hands upon your heads and keep the French from hurting you, and to advise you not to listen or hear what the French say to you.

"'Brethren, you joined in a covenant chain with us, your brethren, the English, and the Six United Nations of Indians and their allies, three or four years ago. The King of Great Britain, your father, has now sent a very large present of goods to the Logstown, to be divided amongst his children. As you could not come thither, we have taken care to send you part. We join with the Six United Nations of Indians in advising you to stand fast in the chain of friendship, which you have already taken hold of, and assure you of the friendship of the government of Virginia, under the direction of the great King, your father, on the other side of the water.' [We gave a belt of wampum.]

"The Twightwees made the following speech, with a beaver blanket, with a green painted spot in the middle:

"'Brothers: We perceive that your country is all smooth and clear like this blanket and that your hearts are good, and the dwellings of your governors are like this green painted spot in the middle of the blanket, which represents the Spring in its bloom.' [Gave the beaver blanket.]

"The Six Nations then produced a large belt, which the Twightwees had sent to all the nations in alliance with them, with the following speech:

"'Brothers: We are very sorry that our people were so foolish as to deliver the English out of the Fort to the French and their Indians, but as our people first consulted the English in the Fort, and it was agreed that it was better to deliver them up (which we did, with beaver and wampum, to the Indians, not to hurt them), than all to be killed, and we desire all our friends to speak to our brothers, the English, and to intercede with them not to desert us, but send their Traders amongst us, and pity our women and children.' [Showed the belt.]

"The Six Nations made the following speech to the Twightwees, with a belt of white wampum, in favor of themselves and the English:

"'Brothers: We desire you to be strong, and to hold fast the chain of friendship concluded between us, you, and the English, and we desire you not to mind what the French and their Indians may say to our

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disadvantage, for you have now once more come amongst us, and you now see what some of your own people that loved the French told you, that we should put you to death if you came amongst us, is all lies. You have now an opportunity of seeing that we are still your friends, and of being assured, from our own mouths, that we shall always remain so; and we would have you mind what your brothers, the Delawares, shall say to you, for they have been long acquainted with the English and know their hearts.' [Gave the belt.]

"Then the Twightwees produced a feathered pipe, and made the following speech:

"'Brothers: We now acquaint you that the French and their Indians have struck us, yet we kept this pipe whole and unhurt'; that is as much as to say, they still hold fast of the chain of friendship with the English, Six Nations, and their allies., [Gave the pipe to the Six Nations.]

"The Six Nations then made the following speech to the Twightwees, with a string of black and white wampum:

"'Brothers: We are glad to see that you have kept safe that pipe, by which we see you have not forgot the treaty between you, us, and the English.' [Gave the string.]

"Then the Six Nations gave us a twist of tobacco to be given to the Half King, to desire him to acquaint the Six Nations of what had been done at the Twightwees, and to desire him to come down and see what they would do with them.

"Then the Shawanees produced *a shell* and black string of wampum from the Twightwees, acquainting all nations in alliance with them that they had but one heart with them, and though it was darkness to the westward, yet toward the sun-rising it was bright and clear. [Gave the shell and string to be given the Six Nations.]

"Then the Shawanees produced a string of mostly black wampum from the captains and warriors of the Twightwees, letting the captains and warriors of all nations in alliance with them know that their hands had been tied, but now they were loose, and that they have the hatchet in their hands ready to strike the French and their Indians, and they desire all their friends to assist them. [Gave the string to be given to the Six Nations.]

"Then the Twightwees produced a black and white string of wampum, letting the Shawanees and Delawares know that when they went there before, they had cleared a road, but as it had been stopped by the French and Indians, they now clear it again. [Gave the string of wampum.]

"Then the old Pianguisha king's [La Demoiselle, or Old Britain] wife got the following speech made to all nations in alliance with them, with a string of black and white wampum:

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"'Brothers: The French have killed my husband. I am now left a poor, lonely woman, with one son, who I recommend to the care of the English, Six Nations, Shawanees, and Delawares, and desire they will take care of him.' [Gave tbe Six Nations the string.]

"Then the Delawares produced a feathered pipe, and beaver blanket from the Wawetannes, with the following speech to the English, Six Nations, and their allies:

"'Brothers: We have had this pipe from the beginning of the world, and whenever it got cloudy we sweep the clouds away, and though it is dark to the westward, yet we sweep all clouds away towards the sun-rising, and leave a clear and serene sky; and, brothers, we present you with this beaver blanket, hoping that your hearts and minds may be as clear as the green painted spot in the middle.' [Gave the pipe and blanket to be given to the Six Nations.]

"The Twightwees made the following speech to the English, with a green belt and pipe:

"'Brothers: When we first went to see you, we made a road which reached to your country, which road the French and Indians have made bloody; now we make a new road, which reaches all the way to the sun-rising, one end of which we will hold fast, which road shall remain open and clear forever, that we and our brothers may travel backwards and forwards to one another with safety; and if we live till the Spring, our brothers may expect to see us, and we send this pipe that our brothers may smoke out of, and think upon what we say, and they may depend upon seeing us in the Spring, at which time we will give a full answer.' [Gave the belt and pipe].

"Speeches made to the Shawanees by the six Cherokees, who came to make peace with the Six Nations and their allies:

"'Brethren: We give you this tobacco to smoke, that while you are smoking you may consider us and pity our condition. [Gave some tobacco tied in a piece of leather.]

"'Brethren: We are come to inform you that fourteen hundred of our men will be here in about two months, to live amongst you, for we can live no longer in our own country, for the English are angry and refuse to supply us with powder and lead, because they say we kill their Traders. [Gave a string of white beads.]

"'Brethren: We are sensible there has been a great many Traders killed, but we have not done it. You know that it is the French Indians that have killed them, therefore we beg that you, the Six Nations, and Delawares, would intercede with our brothers, the English, for us, that they may take pity upon our women and children, and not desert us, but that they may take us under their protection.' [Gave a string of white wampum.]

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"All the speeches that were delivered to the Six Nations by the Shawanees and Delawares that came from the Twightwees, and those from the deputies of the Six Nations, were delivered again to the head men of the Six Nations, at the Logstown, by Mr. Andrew Montour, in order that they might send some person to the head council at Onondagoa with them. When we found that Old Britain was killed, we gave the cloths, by advice of the Six Nations, in the following manner: The scarlet cloak to Old Britain's son, a young lad; the hat and jacket, with the shirt and stockings, to the young Pianguisha king; we clothed Old Britain's wife, and gave the rest of the goods to the young Pianguisha king, the Turtle, and two more men of the nation, for the use of the Twightwees; and I persuaded an Indian Trader to carry the goods for them, who promised to do it, and he set off with horses for the Lower Shawanees Town for that purpose.

"N. B. The young Pianguisha king[1] and Musheguanockque, or the Turtle, were two of the deputies for the Twightwees when they first entered into an alliance with the English.

"While we were at the Lower Shawanees Town, there came a messenger from the Six Nations to order the Indians there to keep themselves together, and to acquaint them there was an army from Canada arrived in the Lakes."

Some additional details of the attack on Pickawillany are contained in the following letter from the Twightwees to Governor Dinwiddie, carried from them to him by Thomas Burney, who was probably the writer of the message:

From the Twightwee Town, June ye 21st, 1752.

OUR GOOD BROTHER OF VIRGINIA:

This comes by our Brother, Thomas Burney, who was with us in the last unhappy Battle we had with our Enemies, the French and French Indians, who engaged our Fort at a time when all our Warriors and briskest Men were out a hunting. They had two hundred and forty fighting Men, appeared suddenly, and took us on Surprize, when they had sent us Wampum and a fine French Coat in Token of Peace and good Will, just to deceive and draw our People out a Hunting, and then fall on us, as a more weak and defenceless Part; being only twenty Men able to bear Arms, and nine of them were our Brothers, the English, who helped us much. But their Stores and Houses being on the outside of our Fort, our enemies plundered them, and took six of our Brothers', the English's, Goods, and, to our great Loss, their Powder and Lead; and killed one of them English, & scalped him.

They kill'd our great Pianckosha King, whom we called old Britain, for his great Love to his Brothers, the English.

Brother, we send you by our Brother Burney, one Scalp and a Belt

[1] His Indian name was Assapausa.

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of Wampum, to let you know we are more concern'd for the Loss of our King, and our Brothers that were taken and kill'd, than for ourselves, altho' in great distress for Want of Arms and Ammunition; for we must look on ourselves as lost if our Brothers, the English, do not stand by us, and give us Powder and Lead and Arms.

To confirm what we say and to assure you that we will ever continue true Friends and Allies of our Brothers, the English, we send you this Scalp and Belt of Wampum.

P.S.—There were but two French men appear'd among the Indians in Time of Battle, altho' we understand there were thirty men within two Miles of us, all the Time of Action, who were ready to receive their share of the Plunder.

The names of the five English Traders who were captured at the Pickawillany Fort in 1752, and sent to France to be imprisoned, have not been preserved in any of the accounts of the siege which have come down to us. It is possible that four of them may have been the same as those who appeared before the Pennsylvania Assembly May 22, 1753, and petitioned that body for assistance; which was granted them to the amount of sixteen pounds. "A petition from George Henry, John Evans, James Devoy, and Owen Nicholson, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that they are in a poor and distressed condition, by reason of their having been taken prisoners by a number of French Indians, with a Frenchman at their head, who carried them to Quebec, and from thence sent them to Rochelle, in Old France, where they were released by the English Embassador, and by him sent to London, from whence they got a passage to this place; therefore, praying this House would consider the petitioners' unhappy case, and grant them as much money as will bear their expenses to Cumberland County, the place of their residence." In the "Detail of Indian Affairs, 1752–54," prepared by Governor Robert Morris of Pennsylvania near the close of 1754, it is stated that these four Traders were taken prisoners "as they were trading beyond the Ohio."

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CHAPTER IX

THE INDIAN TRADE AND THE PENNSYLVANIA TRADERS

JOHN LEDERER, the German traveller who was one of the first explorers of central Virginia, after the Indian Traders, has left us an account of the method in which the Indian trade was carried on in Virginia and Carolina in 1670. "Touching Trade with the Indians," says Lederer, "if you barely design a home trade with neighbor Indians, for deer, beaver, otter, wild-cat, fox, raccoon, etc., your best truck is a sort of coarse trading cloth [called duffels and strouds, by the Pennsylvania Traders], of which a yard and a half makes a match-coat[1] or mantle fit for their wear; as also, axes, hoes, knives, scissors, and all sorts of edged tools. Guns, powder, and shot, etc., are commodities they will greedily barter for; but to supply the Indians with arms and ammunition is [at the time Lederer wrote] prohibited in all English governments.

"In dealing with the Indians, you must be positive and at a word; for if they persuade you to fall anything in your price, they will spend time in higgling for further abatements, and seldom conclude any bargain. Sometimes you may, with brandy or strong liquor, dispose them to an humor of giving ten times the value of your commodity; and at other times they are so hide-bound that they will not offer half the market price, especially, if they be aware that you have a mind to circumvent them with drink, or that they think you have a desire to their goods, which you must seem to slight and disparage.

"To the remoter Indians you must carry other kinds of truck, as small looking-glasses, pictures, beads and bracelets of glass, knives, scissors, and all manner of gaudy toys and knacks for children, which are light and portable. For they are apt to admire such trinkets, and will purchase them at any rate, either with their current coin of small shells, which they call roanoack or peack [wampum], or perhaps with pearl, vermillion, pieces of crystal; and towards Ushery [*i.e.*, the Catawba country], with some odd pieces of plate or bullion, which they sometimes receive in truck from the Oestacks [Westacks].

[1] This term is corrupted from the Powhatan word, *match-core*, as given by John Smith in his *History of Virginia*, and said by him to mean "skin, or garment."

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"Could I have foreseen, when I set out, the advantages to be made by a trade with those remote Indians, I had gone better provided; though perhaps I might have run a great hazard of my life had I purchased considerably among them, by carrying wealth unguarded through so many different nations of barbarous people; therefore it is vain for any man to propose to himself, or undertake a trade at that distance, unless he goes with strength to defend, as well as an adventure to purchase such commodities; for in such a design many ought to join and go in company."

James Adair, the author of the *History of the Southern Indians* (London, 1774), spent nearly forty years (from 1735) as a Trader among the Carolina and Chickasaw Indians. His book is now out of print, and occasional copies offered at auction sell for large prices. The work was written to establish a pet theory of Adair that the American Indians were the descendants of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel; and most of it is taken up with comparisons between the tribal habits of the Indians and those of the Jews. Its chief value in this direction, and a value of which Adair was unaware, lies in the fact of its showing that the primitive customs and habits, manner of life, and superstitions, of all savage or barbarous people, are pretty much the same the world over, in the early periods of their history. This has been clearly brought out and established by Dr. Lewis H. Morgan in his book on *Ancient Society*. For the reason that Adair's book is almost wholly given up to suggesting analogies between the life of the Indians and the life of the ancient Jews, he gives very little space to relating his own experiences and adventures as an Indian Trader—a relation which, if it had been made, would have had infinitely more value to the student of American history than his book has now. What little historical information Adair does give, however, we should be thankful for; and some of it is here set forth:

"Formerly, each Trader [from Carolina] had a license for two Towns or Villages; but according to the present plan, two and even three Arab-like peddlers skulk about in one of those villages. Several of them also frequently emigrate into the woods with spiritous liquor and cheating trifles, after the Indian hunting camps, in the winter season, to the great injury of a regular Trader who supplies them with all the conveniences for hunting; for, as they will sell even their wearing shirt for inebriating liquors, they must be supplied anew in the fall of the year by a Trader.

"At my first settling among them, a number of Traders who lived contiguous to each other joined through our various nations in different companies, and were generally men of worth. Of course they would have a living price for their goods, which they carried on horseback to the remote Indian countries at very great expense. They set an honest copy for the imitation of the natives; for, as they had much at stake,

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their own interest and that of the Government coincided. As the trade was in this wise manner kept up to its just standard, the savages were industrious and frugal. But lowering it, through a mistaken notion of regaining their affections, we made ourselves too cheap to them, and they despised us for it. The trade ought to be raised to a reasonable fixed price the first convenient opportunity; thus we shall keep them employed and ourselves secure. Should we lower the trade even fifty per cent. below the price cost, they would become only the more discontented by thinking we had cheated them all the years past. A mean, submissive temper can never manage an Indian affair. The qualities of a kind friend, sensible speaker, and active warrior must constitute the character of a superintendent. . . .

"The Traders' buildings are like towers in cities, beyond the common size of those of the Indians. Before the Indians were corrupted by mercenary empirics, their good sense led them to esteem the Traders among them as their second Sun, warming their backs with the British fleeces, and keeping in their candle of life, both by plentiful support and continual protection and safety, from the arms and ammunition which they annually brought them. While the Indians were simple in manners and uncorrupt in morals, the Traders could not be reckoned unhappy, for they were kindly treated and watchfully guarded by a society of friendly and sagacious people, and possessed all the needful things to make a reasonable life easy. Through all the Indian countries every person lives at his own choice, not being forced in the least degree to anything contrary to his own inclination. Before that most impolitic step of giving general licences took place, only a sufficient number of orderly, reputable Traders were allowed to traffic and reside among the Indians, by which means the last were kept under proper restraint, were easy in their minds, and peaceable, on account of the plain, honest lessons daily inculcated on them. But at present, most of their countries swarm with white people, who are generally the dregs and off-scourings of our colonies. The description is so exceedingly disagreeable that I shall only observe, the greater part of them could notably distinguish themselves among the most profligate by land or sea, no day of the week excepted; indeed, the Sabbath day is the worst. This is the true situation of our Indian affairs, the unavoidable result of ignorant and wicked clergymen settled as missionaries on the frontiers, and of the pernicious practice of general licences, by which crowds of disorderly people infest the Indian countries, corrupt the morals, and put their civilization out of the power of common means. The worst and meanest may readily get nominal security to entitle them to a trading licence, and ill uses are made of them with impunity."

Cadwallader Colden's *Memoir* on the Fur Trade, prepared for

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Governor Burnet in 1724, in contrasting the great advantages the English enjoyed over the French in the Indian Trade, ascribed them to the lower cost of the English goods and to cheaper and more expeditious transportation.

"The ships that constantly use the Trade to England," Colden wrote, "perform their voyage to and from London twice every year; and those that go to Bristol (the port from whence the greatest part of the Goods for the Indian Trade are exported), frequently return in four months. These goods are bought much cheaper in England than in France; they are transported in less time, with less charge, and much less risk. . . .

"Besides . . . difficulties in the transportation, the French labor under greater, in the purchasing of the principal goods proper for the Indian market; for the most considerable and most valuable part of their cargo consists in Strowds, Duffils, Blankets, and other woollens, which are bought at a much cheaper rate in England than in France. The Strowds, which the Indians value more than any other clothing, are only made in England, and must be transported into France before they can be carried to Canada. Rum is another considerable branch of the Indian Trade which the French want, by reason they have no commoditys in Canada fit for the West India market. This they supply with brandy, at a much dearer rate than rum can be purchased at New York, tho' of no more value to the Indians. Generally, all the goods used in the Indian Trade except gunpowder and a few trinkets, are sold at Montreal for twice their value at Albany. To this, likewise, must be added the necessity they are under of laying the whole charge of supporting their Government on the Indian Trade. I am not particularly informed of their duties or imposts, but I am well assured that they commonly give six or 700 livres [francs] for a licence for one canoe, in proportion to her largeness, to go with her loading into the Indian Country to trade. . . .

"To put the truth of this question out of all dispute, I need only observe what is well known both at New York and Albany, viz., that almost all the Strowds carried by the French into the Indian Countries, as well as large quantitys of other goods for the use of the French themselves, are carried from Albany to Montreal. There has been an account kept of 900 pieces of Strouds transported thither in one year, besides other commoditys of very considerable value. . .

"Strouds (the staple Indian commodity) this year are sold for ten pounds apiece at Albany, and at Montreal for twenty-five pounds, notwithstanding the great quantity of Strouds said to be brought directly into Quebeck from France, and the great quantities that have been clandestinely carried from Albany. . . . .

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"The merchants of New York allow our Indian Traders double the price for Beaver that the French Company allow their Indian Traders. The price established by the Company for Beaver in Canada, being 2 livres, or 18 pence sterling the pound weight, and the current price of Beaver in New York being 5 sh. New York money, or 3 sh. sterling the pound weight. Therefore it plainly follows that our English Traders could undersell the French Traders, tho' they were to give as great a price for European goods as the French do, and did transport them at as great a charge, because of the double price they have for their furs in New York. But as our Indian Traders not only have a double price for their Indian goods, but likewise buy the goods they sell to the Indians at half the price the French Traders do, the French Traders must be ruined by carrying on this trade in competition with the English of New York; and the French Traders had been ruined before now, if they had not found means to carry their Beaver to Albany, where they get double the price they must have sold for in Canada."

The great evil of the Indian Trade in all the colonies, of course, was the unrestricted and unlimited sale of rum to the Indians. In Pennsylvania, almost from the time of its settlement, there were few conferences held with the Indians, at Philadelphia, on the Susquehanna, or on the Ohio, in which the chiefs did not complain to the Government of the great quantities of liquor carried into the woods by the Traders.

On July 25, 1684, Governor William Penn "first proposes to the Council the law concerning the selling of rum to the Indians"; and it was "ordered, that Robert Terrill and all others who sell rum to the Indians be sent for, to appear before the Union and Council."

The Council Records show that in 1685 "several Indians made complaint to ye Secretary of abuses they received from ye servants of Jasper Farmer at ye said Jasper Farmer's plantation, vizt., their making ye Indians drunk, then lying with their wives, and of their beating both men and their wives." In the following year information was given that Nicholas Scull, "hath, contrary to his duty and peace of this Province, sold and trucked to and with the Indians several quantities of liquors, which by law was prohibited the selling to them." In 1701 Shemekenwhoa, one of the Shawnee chiefs from Pequea, complained to Governor Penn that Sylvester Garland, a Trader from Newcastle, had brought to the Shawnee settlement 140 gallons of rum, and after getting the Indians to drink, had abused them. When the Susquehanna and Shawnee chiefs came to Philadelphia to take leave of Penn on his final departure for England, they expressed the hope that the law against the selling of rum to the Indians would be put into effect, "and not only discoursed of, as formerly it has been." In 1704, Oretyagh,

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chief of Conestoga, sent word to the Governor by Nicole Godin, a Trader, complaining of the great quantities of rum continually brought to his town, "inasmuch that they are ruined by it, having nothing left, but have laid out all, even their clothes, for rum, and may now, when threatened by war, be surprised by their enemies when besides themselves with drink, and so utterly destroyed." In 1706, the Susquehanna, Shawnee, and Ganawese Indians requested the Governor to prevent any persons from going up into the country beyond their towns, to meet the Indians returning from hunting, "for they sustain great damages by that practice, by being made drunk at their return before they get home to their wives, and so were imposed on and cheated by the Traders of the fruits of all their labors."

A similar complaint was made by the Delawares in 1715, and on this occasion the Governor and Council authorized all Indians who should see any rum brought amongst them for sale, "to forthwith stave the casks and destroy the liquor." Another complaint of the same kind was made by Shecokkenecan (Chicochinican), father of Nemacolin, on behalf of the Conestogas, Shawnees, and Delawares of the Susquehanna, in 1718. Another was made in 1721 by six chiefs of the Five Nations; and again, in 1727, by a number of Cayuga chiefs, who desired that no rum be sold about "Pextan," and that none should be carried by the Traders "to the remoter parts where James Le Tort trades (that is, Allegheny, on the branches of Ohio)." In 1733, Chief Shekallamy complained to the Governor that "Peter Cheaver [Shaver], beyond all others, had carried rum amongst the Indians of the Susquehanna, and will not regard the orders of the Government on this head, but threatens any Indian who may offer to stave his casks." In 1732, Edmund Cartlidge wrote the Governor from Kittanning, stating that the chiefs there made reflections on the Government for permitting such large quantities of rum to be carried to Allegheny and sold to the Indians there, contrary to the law. During the next year the Shawnee chiefs at Allegheny wrote to the Governor, requesting that he send them an order permitting them "to break in pieces all the cags [of rum] so brought" amongst them, yearly and monthly, by "some new upstart of a Trader without licence, who comes amongst us and brings nothing but rum, no powder, nor lead, nor clothing, but takes away with him those skins which the old licensed Traders, who bring us everything necessary, ought to have in return for their goods sold us some years since."

A petition was presented to Governor Gordon in August, 1730, from three of the Allegheny Traders, which read as follows:

The humble petition of Anthony Saduskus, John Maddox, and John Fisher, Indian Traders, showeth:

That they are a Company of Traders among the natives, and had

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under the direction of John Maddox the value of Five Hundred Pounds in European goods at Allegheny in 1729;

That sometime in the month of June the same year, the Mingoe Indians brought fourteen cags of Rum from Albany; whereupon the Delaware Indians sold all the goods they had, in order to purchase the Rum of the said Mingoes; and not having sufficient to purchase the whole, they came to the store of John Maddox aforesaid, demanding of him a parcel of goods upon credit; which he refusing, they fell upon him, beat and wounded him severely, alledging they would have the goods, and even take them by force.

Your Petitioners, fearing the consequence of their resolutions, thought it most proper to deliver them the goods they demanded; and accordingly delivered five pieces of strowds, twenty shirts, one piece half-thicks, and some small goods, the whole value thereof being about one hundred pounds; for which they have to this day not received any satisfaction.

Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray, that your Honor will be pleased to give your directions to the Chief of ye Indians, viz., Allommapees, Shackachtan [at Shamokin], and to Great Hill [Mechouquatchugh], at Allegheny, directing them that those offenders may be ordered and obliged to make us satisfaction; and that they desist from the like depredations for the future; and your Petitioners, etc.

ANTHONY SADOWSK[Y].
JOHN MADDOX.
JOHN FISHER.

In 1734 the Shawnee chiefs at Allegheny wrote the Governor, requesting that none of the licensed Traders be allowed to bring to them more than thirty gallons of rum twice in a year, excepting Peter Chartier, who "trades further than ye rest," and stating that if the Shawnees found any other Traders among them, they would stave their kegs and seize their goods. In 1738 nearly one hundred of the Shawnees at Allegheny signed a written agreement, that no rum should be permitted to be brought into any of their towns for the period of four years; that such strong liquor as was then in the towns should be "broke and spilt," and that the same treatment should be accorded to any that might be carried there in the future. In 1741 Governor Thomas informed his Council that he had received a letter from some chiefs of the Mingoes and Shawnees at Allegheny, complaining of the quantities of rum being brought amongst them.

In 1744 Governor Thomas sent a message to the Pennsylvania Assembly, in which he said, "I cannot but be apprehensive that the Indian Trade as it is now carried on will involve us in some fatal quarrel with the Indians. Our Traders, in defiance of the law, carry spiritous liquors amongst them, and take the advantage of their inordinate appetite for it to cheat them of their skins and their wampum, which is their money, and often to debauch their wives into the bargain. Is it to be

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wondered at then, if, when they recover from the drunken fit, they should take severe revenge? . . . If I am rightly informed, the like abuses of the Traders in New England were the principal causes of the Indian Wars there, and at length obliged the Government to take the Trade into its own hands."

At a conference held at Carlisle October 3, 1753, between Richard Peters, Isaac Norris, and Benjamin Franklin, Commissioners appointed by the Governor, and some chiefs of the Six Nations, Delawares, Shawnees, Twightwees, and Owendats, Scarrooyady, addressing his speech to the Governor of Pennsylvania, said: "Brother Onas—All we who are here desire you will hear what we are going to say, and regard it as a matter of moment. The French look on the great number of your Traders at Ohio with envy; they fear they shall lose their Trade. You have more Traders than are necessary, and they spread themselves over our wide country at such great distances that we cannot see them or protect them. We desire you will call back the great number of your Traders, and let only three sets of Traders remain, and order these to stay in three places which we have appointed for their residence, viz., Log's Town, the Mouth of Canawha,[1] and the Mouth of Mohongialo. The Indians will then come to them and buy their goods in these places, and nowhere else. We shall likewise look on them under our care, and be accountable for them. We have settled this point with Virginia in the same manner. . . .

"Your Traders now bring scarce anything but Rum and Flour; they bring little Powder and Lead, or other valuable goods. The Rum ruins us. We beg you would prevent its coming in such quantities by regulating the Traders. We never understood the Trade was to be for Whiskey and Flour. We desire it may be forbidden, and none sold in the Indian country; but if the Indians will have any, they may go among the inhabitants and deal with them for it. When these Whiskey Traders come, they bring thirty or forty cags and put them down before us and make us drink, and get all the skins that should go to pay the debts we have contracted for goods bought of the Fair Traders; and by this means we not only ruin ourselves but them too. These wicked Whiskey Sellers, when they have once got the Indians in liquor, make them sell their very clothes from their backs. In short, if this practice be continued, we must be inevitably ruined."

The Provincial Assembly, after reading the report of this conference, "join with the Governor in bewailing the miserable situation of our Indian Trade, carried on (some few excepted) by the vilest of our own inhabitants, and convicts imported from Great Britain and Ireland, by

[1] This would indicate that there may have been Indian villages near the mouth of Kanawha in 1753. See pp. 142, 143.

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which means the English Nation is unhappily represented among our Indian allies in the most disagreeable manner. These trade without control, either beyond the limits, or at least beyond the power of our laws, debauching the Indians and themselves with spiritous liquors which they now make in a great measure the principal article of their Trade, in direct violation of our laws, supplied, as we are informed, by some of the Magistrates who hold a commission under this Government and other inhabitants of our back Countries."

In connection with the trade in rum, there is a curious document preserved in the New York records, executed at Albany in March, 1764. This paper is a "Petition of Merchants of Albany to the Lords of Trade," signed by seventy-five Dutch Indian Traders and Merchants of the city and county of Albany, among whom are five Lansings, six Bleeckers, five Cuylers, two Beeckmans, two Gansevoorts, two Van Schaicks and representatives of the Schuyler, Van Rensselaer, De Peyster, and many other early Knickerbocker families. This document recites, among other things, "That your Petitioners, as well as their ancestors for near a century and a half, carried on a free trade with the Indians living westward of Albany . . . without being subject to any prohibition of rum or other spiritous liquors. . . . But . . . the glorious acquisitions obtained by His Majesty's armies in the reduction of Canada . . . encouraged your Petitioners . . . in carrying on . . . Trade in a more extensive manner, . . . tho in pursuit of this plan your Petitioners, by some new invented regulations, were totally prohibited from carrying rum and other spiritous liquors, the enforcement of which regulation your Petitioners conceive, was founded on a mistaken notion, if not on some lucrative views. Tho true it is that some of the Five Nations have exclaimed against the sale of rum amongst them, yet it is equally true that the other Tribes, with whom your Petitioners carry on a far more considerable Trade, look upon such a prohibition as the greatest indignity, and as an encroachment on their liberty of Trade; your Petitioners finding by experience, since this prohibition took place, a considerable decrease in the Trade, which they can ascribe to no other reason than such prohibition: because, when the Indians have nothing farther to provide for than bare necessaries, a very small quantity of furs in trade will abundantly supply that defect; whereas, when the vent of liquors is allowed amongst them, it spurs them on to an unwearied application in hunting, in order to supply the Trading Places with furs and skins in exchange for liquors."

Sir William Johnson, in a "Review of the Trade and Affairs of the Indians," which he prepared for the British Board of Trade in 1767, gives a very unfavorable view of the honesty and good sense of these Dutch Traders of Albany, Schenectady, and Oswego. An Ottawa chief of great influence brought his packs to Oswego. The Trader, after the

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usual practice of deceiving him by reckoning the peltry at only one-third its real weight and telling him that merchandise was very dear on account of the duties (there were none), gave the Indian less than one-third of what he had been accustomed to receiving for a like quantity of skins. The chief went away discontented, but, returning, begged for a small keg of rum, which the Trader gave him, as a high favor. On opening the keg soon after his departure, it proved to be water. Another Trader, for some valuable furs, which he received from an Ottawa chief of much influence, paid him, at the Indian's request, in rum, giving him thirty small kegs; which, when they were opened by the chief on his return towards Niagara, proved to contain nothing but water.

These two instances, says Johnson, were the occasion of New York losing the trade and affections of some powerful tribes of the Ottawas.

Another instance was that of a Seneca warrior, of much influence and ability, whom Johnson had difficulty in persuading to take up arms for the English in 1756, but who finally came to him with a large party of warriors, who were ready to take the war-path against the French as soon as they had disposed of some furs. These they carried to Schenectady, with a recommendation from Johnson to a Trader there to use them kindly and justly. "Notwithstanding which, this enemy to the interests of his Country imposed on them in the grossest manner; it appearing from their account and his confession since, that, as they were strangers, he had doubled the price of his goods and allowed them but half the weight of their peltry. This was resented accordingly; the Indians took another route back; and the chief sent me a belt of wampum, with a message informing me of the imposition, and . . . that he had accepted an invitation from the French, who knew how to treat them and their services. He made his words good; in a few days cut off a large settlement, and continued our most violent enemy ever since. . . . To this I must subjoin an instance in the case of the chief of all the Senecas, a warrior whose influence and capacity were and are well-known here, whom I had steadily preserved in the British interest when we were almost totally abandoned; this man, at the eve of the late war, was, thro' the means of liquor seduced by some Agents at Albany to subscribe his name to an Indian deed for a tract [Wyoming] within the bounds of Pennsylvania, but claimed by some Connecticut people, in virtue of their obsolete charter, which extended their western limits to the South Seas. This being a most iniquitous proceeding, highly resented by the Six Nations, the few who subscribed to it became obnoxious to the rest, particularly the chief before mentioned; so that he was obliged to fly to the French for protection, who so far won upon him that he, with a powerful party who followed his fortunes, took up arms shortly after, attacked a body of Provincials at Lake George, whom

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they totally defeated, and killed 45. Since which he was concerned in the most important services against us, cut off some of our settlements, and occasioned the deaths of more than 400 of our people."

The life of an Indian rum trader is depicted in the autobiographical sketch of one Charles Williams, an early settler in Coshocton County, Ohio, who served as a Ranger in eastern Ohio for a few years after 1787. After Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers in 1794, he lived on the Ohio River at Carpenter's Station, in the present Jefferson County, one mile from Short Creek. From there his *Narrative* proceeds:

After some time I moved up the River where I came from—Carpenter's Station, Short Creek. Then had money, two horses. Then peace with the Ingens. I thought I would pay them up for what damage they had done to me, stealing horses. And following them many miles, went out to New Cumer's Town. There I and three more persons fell in with thirty or forty Ingens. Give them a small cag of whiskey and keep one to trade on. They got pretty high soon, and came to take my bread, and got hold of the bag and run; but I soon overhauled him and took it away from him. Soon after they come to get more whiskey, and I sold them for one dollar a quart, one-third water. Then I was paying them up. In two or three days, I got done trading, and went home in fine heart, thinking what I would do next trip. Soon started out, with several horses loaded with articles for trade; one horse load with whiskey, as it would make nearly two horse loads [after being watered]. Come to the Camp. Plenty of Ingens there, hungry for trade. I made a good trade for myself.

There I found a man, one named Robert Higgins, and the Inguns and me got a old woman willing to marry him. Then the buck's foot and corn was handed about, and the marriage was over. We put them to bed on a bear-skin. Then I started home. Made a good trade. Took some Ingens with me. Came home. My father-in-law, Carpenter, had been taken prisoner and wounded. Very angry at them. Hard work to save them, but did it. Sold off my trade [peltries] very well, and lived high; played cards and run horses. Spent it as fast as I made it, but took good care of my family. . . . In the Spring I took my brother-in-law with me. Took plenty of trade, especially whiskey, as it was good trade, that would sell when cash and all skins was gone, for the best of clothing; full of lice; wash them up and sell them again to them that had skins. Then the Ingens got very troublesome; wanted to take my whiskey, and I fought for it; and Carpenter left me alone. Hard times, but saved my property. Had none taken, but hard work to save it.

In a few days sold all out; get sobered; and I point for home. About fifteen or twenty went home with me. Then I begun to understand them a little; made trade easier for me. I traded eight years with them, and my wife understood them before I was done trading.

The conditions in an Indian town when all the Indians became drunk are very well portrayed in the *Diary of David McClure*. McClure

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was a Congregational preacher, who visited the towns on the Muskingum River in Ohio, in 1772. He reached Kekalemahpehoong, the town of Chief Nettautwaleman (Nettawatwees),[1] on September 21st.

"This Town is called New Comer's Town by the English [near the site of the present town of the same name, a few miles east of the old Wyandot town of Conchake (Coshocton), described in the preceding pages], and stands on the west bank of the Muskingum, containing about sixty houses, some of logs, and others the bark of trees, fastened by elm bark to poles stuck in the ground and bent over at the top. There are nearly 100 families. It is the principal Town of the Delaware Nation, and the residence of the king and the greater part of the Councillors. . . . Eight or ten acres around the Town are cleared. On the opposite side of the River is a large corn-field, in rich low ground. It is inclosed within one common fence, and each family has its division to plant. Some of the houses are well built with hewed logs, with stone chimneys, chambers, and cellars. These, I was told, *were built by English captives in the time of the French wars*. . . .

"Tuesday, September 29. . . . This day some *females* brought about eighteen gallons of rum from Pittsburgh, *employed by the Traders there*, to sell for them. The head men endeavored to restrain the sale of it, but in vain. . . . In the evening the fatal liquid, rum, began to circulate through the Town; not all the authority of the king and Council, nor their former positive law to restrain it, could stop the raging thirst of appetite. It was a dark and dreadful night. May that Almighty Guardian God, who has mercifully guided me hitherto, protect me through this night. . . .

"By midnight the body of the inhabitants, of both sexes, were drunk. Myself and my two companions committed ourselves to God in prayer, and I lay down upon my couch, which was composed of a buffalo and bear skin. We left the door upon the latch, concluding that if any of the drunken rout should attempt to enter, to bar the door would make them more violent. The ground trembled with the trampling of feet; whooping, yells, singing, laughter, and the voice of rage and madness, were blended in dreadful discord, adding horror to the darkness of midnight.

"Some companies of them came successively to the door, and I expected them in every moment; they were at times very boisterous. My interpreter, who lay near the door, could hear their conversation. There providentially happened, in every instance, to be some one among them who dissuaded the rest from entering. . . .

"I rose with the appearance of light, and with an Indian Trader

[1] His name is signed as a witness to the Indian deed by Sassoonan and others to William Penn in 1718.

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whom I met at the door, walked through the Village. The noise and uproar continued. In one place sat several on the ground, drinking rum from wooden bowls; others lay stretched out in profound sleep; some were reeling and tumbling over the green; and one or two companies were fighting and yelling in the most frightful manner. They fought like dogs, biting, scratching, and the like. . . .

"In our walk, a fierce Indian, mad with rage, came up and, shaking his fist at me, used high and threatening words, as the Trader informed me, although he did not well understand him. I was a little alarmed at his threatening gestures and wrathful voice and looks, as well as the angry looks of some others of their warriors.

"The men and women this morning were naked, except a piece of blue cloth about their loins, to cover their shame. It is the nature of this shameless vice to obliterate all sense of modesty.

"It is an invariable custom in their drunken frolics for some to keep sober, to prevent mischief, if possible. The duty of these wakeful guardians is to disarm and take the clothes of those who are beginning to drink. The arms, such as tomahawks, knives, &c., they secrete. They make no resistance. These watchmen, however, do not lose their share. They awaken some of the first drinkers who have slept away their drink, and these take their place, and then they go to drinking.

"I returned to my house, and hearing that the king and Captain Kilbuck were sober, I sent a request that they would take breakfast with me. I wished for their company for personal security. They accordingly came. We sat around our table, which was a piece of plank resting on two kegs. My royal guest and his Councillor regaled themselves with chocolate and biscuit; but I could not prevail with them to stay after they had finished their repast. The king expressed his sorrow at the state of the Town. Kilbuck went and joined the rout.

"Finding my situation in these scenes of drunkenness and madness unsafe, I concluded to ride with my interpreter to a village five miles down the River. We went to look up our horses. In my absence, the warrior who had threatened me in the morning, had procured a club, and rushing into the house, in which was only the son of Kilbuck, asked for the white man, and, flourishing the club, said he came to kill him. The young Indian, to divert him from the way I had gone, directed him to pursue me in an opposite direction. Turning from the door, eager to find me, he was stopped by another Indian, a stout young man, called Young Beaver, who wrested the club from him, which was soon also taken from him, and secreted.

"They were engaged in a bloody fight at the time that I returned with my horse. The fight was in the house next to mine. By the noise and confusion within, one could imagine that a number were engaged

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in a bloody conflict. I was ignorant of the cause, until, in about fifteen minutes, my interpreter arrived and explained it.

"Before he arrived, I stood attending to the noise of the affray; and young Kilbuck, just mentioned, ran out of the house to me with a long bloody lock of hair, and smiling and talking, presented it to me. Not knowing what it meant, I declined receiving it; he then stuck it on the outside of my house. This, I found by my interpreter, was a trophy of victory, for my friend, Young Beaver, had just torn it from the middle of the scalp of my enemy.

"I then thought it advisable to stay no longer; but with Pepee rode expeditiously out of Town.

"We were in hopes of finding peace and security at the Village below, but in this we were disappointed. When we came in sight of it, we heard 'the sound of riot and ill-managed merriment.' Part of the rum had been sent to this Village, and they were in the height of their frolic. We debated sometime whether to go in, reluctant and 'loath to meet their rudeness and swill'd insolence.' My interpreter, Pepee, had a cousin living there. . . . He was sober, very glad to see Pepee, and we followed him to his house. He showed me great hospitality. Steaks of excellent venison, roasted, and some sweet squashes which he baked in the embers, wrapped in large leaves, were given us. After this repast I slept soundly on his bear-skin couch. When I awoke my interpreter only was present. He said his cousin had been absent some time. I walked about the Village. About one-half of the inhabitants were intoxicated. They did not offer me any injury. . . . Such is the fondness of Indians for dissipation that they were building a dancing-house in this small village, which will cost them more labor than one-half the houses in it."

William Bartram, the naturalist, who travelled in Florida, Carolina, and Tennessee in 1773, has also left us an interesting description of a drunken frolic of some Seminole Indians, which took place near Mount Royal, at Lake George, on the St. John's River in Florida, during his residence there.

"At the trading-house I found a very large party of the Lower Creeks encamped in a grove, just without the pallisadoes. This was a predatory band of the Siminoles, consisting of about forty warriors, destined against the Chactaws of West Florida. They had just arrived here from St. Augustine, where they had been with a large troop of horses for sale, and furnished themselves with a very liberal supply of spiritous liquors, about twenty kegs, each containing five gallons.

"These sons of Mars had the continence and fortitude to withstand the temptation of even tasting a drop of it until their arrival here, where they proposed to supply themselves with necessary articles to equip

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them for the expedition, and proceed on directly; but here, meeting with our young Traders and pack-horse men, they were soon prevailed on to broach their beloved nectar; which, in the end, caused some disturbance, and the consumption of most of their liquor; for after they had once got a smack of it, they never were sober for ten days, and by that time there was but little left.

"In a few days this festival exhibited one of the most ludicrous bacchanalian scenes that is possible to be conceived. White and red men and women without distinction passed the day merrily with these jovial, amorous topers, and the nights in convivial songs, dances, and sacrifices to Venus, as long as they could stand or move; for in these frolics both sexes take such liberties with each other, and act without constraint or shame such scenes as they would abhor when sober or in their senses; and would endanger their ears and even their lives.

"But, at last, their liquor running low, and being most of them sick through intoxication, they became more sober; and now the dejected, lifeless sots would pawn everything they were in possession of for a mouthful of spirits, to settle their stomachs, as they termed it.

"This was the time for the wenches to make their market; as they had the fortitude and subtility, by dissimulation and artifice, to save their share of the liquor during the frolic, and that by a very singular stratagem. For at these riots, every fellow who joins in the club, has his own quart bottle of rum in his hand, holding it by the neck so sure, that he never loses hold of it, day or night, drunk or sober, as long as the frolick continues; and with this, his beloved friend, he roves about continually, singing, roaring, and reeling to and fro, either alone or arm in arm with a brother toper, presenting his bottle to every one, offering a drink; and is sure to meet his beloved female, if he can, whom he complacently begs to drink with him. But the modest fair, veiling her face in a mantle, refuses, at the beginning of the frolick; but he presses, and at last insists. She, being furnished with an empty bottle, concealed in her mantle, at last consents, and, taking a good, long draught, blushes, drops her pretty face on her bosom, and artfully discharges the rum into her bottle; and by repeating this artifice, soon fills it. This she privately conveys to her secret store, and then returns to the jovial game, and so on during the festival. And when the comic farce is over, the wench retails this precious cordial to them at her own price."

The currency of the Indians, with which they bought all their goods and made all their peace offerings, tributes, and presents, was, to a limited extent, wampum, but chiefly peltries. The beaver pelt, as we have seen, was the principal medium of exchange in New York and Canada. In Pennsylvania and Virginia, where the beaver was scarce, buck-skins and doe-skins took its place.

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On the 23d of July, 1712, a number of the Conestoga Indians visited Philadelphia to hold a conference with the Governor. They brought to him as a present a bundle of skins, which were valued by the Council as follows: 30 deer-skins, at 3sh. 6d. each; 2 half bears, at 7sh.; 3 foxes, at 18d. each; 6 raccoons, at 1sh. each; 3 beavers, at 5sh.; and one dressed doe-skin, at 3sh. 6d—a total value of £7, 1sh. In return for this present, the Council ordered that the following goods should be provided for the Indians: 6 Stroud Water[1] match-coats[2]; 6 Duffils[3]; 6 white shirts; 50 pounds of powder; 1 cwt. of lead; besides a Stroud-water and three shirts to Indian Harry, the interpreter.

On the 14th of October in the same year, the Delaware chiefs came to Philadelphia after their return from the country of the Five Nations, where they had been to pay their tribute. They brought with them a present of skins to the Governor, and also five other bundles which had been sent, one by each of the Five Nations, in return for presents which they had received from Pennsylvania. The present of the Delawares contained 49 buck-skins, which were valued by the recipients at 5 shillings each; and 71 doe-skins, at 2sh. 6d. each; a total of over 21 pounds. The bundles from the Five Nations contained 20 beavers, weighing 31 pounds, at 3sh. 6d. the pound; 38 bucks and does, ordinary, at 3sh.; and 2 bear skins, at 9 shillings.

In June, 1715, Sassoonan and Opessah, chiefs of the Delawares and Shawnees, with a number of lesser chiefs, attended a Council in Philadelphia, bringing with them as a present: 45 raw fall deer-skins, 138 pounds, at 9d. per pound; 8 summer deer-skins, 16 pounds, at 13½d.; 53 dressed deer-skins, 53 pounds, at 2sh. 6d.; 84 whole foxes, at 1sh. 6d. each; 12 raccoons, at 1sh. each; and 3 ordinary fishers (otters?), at 3sh. each. The total value of this present was £20, 11 sh. In return, the Council presented the Indians with goods to the value of over 34 pounds, consisting of the following: 16 stroud match-coats, at 19sh. each; 10 Duffel match-coats, at 10sh. 6d. each; 6 blankets, at 13sh. 4d. each; 6 shirts, at 8sh. 6d. each; 50 pounds of powder; 100 pounds of lead; 100 pounds of tobacco; and 12 dozen pipes.

At a treaty held in Philadelphia in August and September, 1732, between Governor Thomas Penn and five chiefs of the Senecas, Cayugas, and Oneidas, a present was made to the chiefs, by the Council, of the following articles, the list of which represents very well what articles generally formed the stock of the Indian Traders: "Five whole pieces of

[1] Stroud, where these woollen goods were made, is a borough of Gloucestershire, in England, on the banks of Stroud Water, thirty miles northeast of Bristol. It was then, as now, the centre of the woollen manufacturing industry in Gloucestershire.

[2] See foot-note, page 300.

[3] Belgian coarse woollen cloth, made at Duffel, a town near Antwerp.

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Strouds and ten Stroud match-coats; one whole piece and 10 Duffels; two whole pieces of blanketing; 300 pounds of powder, 500 wt. bullets; 10 guns; 300 flints; three dozen shirts; six coats; 12 pairs of shoes and buckles; 12 pairs of stockings; 10 kettles; 10 dozen knives; 5 dozen scissors; 5 dozen tobacco tongs; 2½ dozen combs; 3 pounds of vermillion; 100 pounds of tobacco; 1 gross of pipes."

In August, 1735, Captain Civility, with some of the Conestoga Indians, including some Ganawese and Shawnees from the same place, met Governor Thomas Penn in Council at Philadelphia, and made him a present of skins to the value of more than £17. These consisted of 107 fall deer-skins, at 1sh. 9d. each; 21 ordinary (or summer) deer-skins, at 1sh. each; 35 Indian dressed deer-skins, at 3sh. 6d. each; 4 raccoons, at 1sh. 6d. each; and two bear skins, at 4sh. each.

In 1736, the Proprietors of Pennsylvania paid the Six Nations for their claim to all the lands lying east of the Susquehanna; and in 1742, for the lands west of that river, giving them an equal quantity of goods on both occasions. The list of the goods as spread on the minutes of the treaty of 1742 is as follows:

500 pounds of powder.
600 pounds of lead.
45 guns.
60 Strowd match-coats.
100 blankets.
100 Duffil match-coats.
200 yards half-thick.
100 shirts.
40 hats.
40 pairs shoes and buckles.
1000 flints.
24 looking-glasses.
2 pounds of vermillion.
100 tin-pots.
40 pairs stockings.
100 hatchets.
500 knives.
100 hoes.
60 kettles.
100 tobacco tongs.
100 scissors.
500 awl-blades.
120 combs.
2000 needles.
1000 tobacco pipes.
200 pounds of tobacco.
24 dozen of gartering.
25 gallons of rum.

At the Treaty of Lancaster in 1744, the Maryland Commissioners paid to the Six Nations for a release of their claims to the lands in Western Maryland the following goods, having a value, in Pennsylvania currency, of 220 pounds, 15 shillings:

Six pieces of strowds; 200 shirts; 3 pieces half-thicks; 4 pieces Duffle blankets; 47 guns; 1 pound of vermillion; 1000 flints; 4 dozen jews-harps; 1 dozen boxes; 100 two-quarters bar-lead; 2 quarters shot; 2 half-barrels gunpowder.

The present which the Pennsylvania Assembly made to the Indians at Ohio in 1748, which was bought at the beginning of that year, and carried to them by Conrad Weiser and George Croghan in August, cost something over £828. Later in the spring, the Virginia Government

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contributed £200 more, for the purchase of additional goods. The list of goods bought by Pennsylvania was as follows:

18 barrels of gunpowder, at £9 10sh. each.
20 cwt. bar lead, at 42 and 45sh. each.
40 guns, at 30sh. each.
15 pieces Duffels, at £13 10sh., and one piece at £14 10sh.
50 dozen assorted knives, £24 5sh.
6500 flints, £4 11sh. 6d.
341 Garlix shirts, with making and thread, £105 12sh.
100 Ozenbrig's shirts, £29.
20 gross gartering, £25 5sh.
15 pounds vermillion, £11 16sh. 10d.
10 pieces half-thicks, £48 1sh. 7d.
9 dozen and 4 looking-glasses, £7 11sh.
30 brass kettles, wt. 55½ lb., at 4sh.
20 dozen Indian hatchets, at 18sh.
14 gross rings, £10 10sh.
4½ gross medals, £6.
2 gross awl-blades, at 20sh.
35 pieces ribbon, £29 2sh.
2⅓ pounds beads, at 6sh.
4 dozen and 10 Dutch pipes, £2 11sh.
1 dozen jointed babies, 15sh.

The Commissioners of the Pennsylvania Government met the chiefs of the Mingoes, Delawares, Shawnees, and Twightwees, in a Council at Lancaster in July, 1748. The Indians were given a present to the value of £189 by the Province, and themselves delivered as a present for the Governor, 62½ pounds of beaver (mostly from the Twightwees), valued at from 6 to 8 shillings per pound; 41 ordinary summer deer-skins, weight 86 pounds, at 22d. per pound; and 15 dressed leather (deer) skins weight 29 pounds, at 4 shillings per pound.

Five Seneca and Onondaga chiefs visited Philadelphia in July, 1749, to pay their respects to the new Governor, James Hamilton. The Council voted them a present, as a means of increasing their friendship, to the value of something over £100. The goods which were bought at that time included Strowds, Duffils, Half-thicks, Gunpowder, Bar-lead, Small Shot, Vermillion, Shirts, plain and ruffled, Guns, Brass Kettles, Hatchets, Knives, Flints, Looking-glasses, Awl-blades, Gartering, Ribbon, Bed Lace, Scissors, Ear-rings, Rings, Morris Bells, Brass Thimbles, White Beads, Brass Jews-harps, Handkerchiefs, Tobacco, and Pipes.

A great Council was held at Easton in October, 1758, between Governors Denny and Bernard, of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, six members of the Council and a committee of six from the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, two Commissioners from New Jersey, a number of Quakers from Philadelphia, George Croghan as Deputy for

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Sir William Johnson, and a large number of the chiefs and warriors of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Senecas, Tuscaroras, Nanticokes and Conoys ("now one nation"), Tuteloes, Chugnuts, Chehohockes ("alias Delawares and Unamies"), "Munsies and Minisinks," Mohickons, and "Wapings or Pumptons." Conrad Weiser and Andrew Montour were present as interpreters. On the 25th, near the close of the conference, a large quantity of presents was given to the Indians in consideration of the release of their claims to some of the lands which had been in dispute, of which goods the following is the list:

3 gross of narrow-starred gartering.
4 do. of broad-star.
2 do. of middle-star.
4 do. of narrow Scotch.
2 do. of middle Turkey.
4 do. of best Scotch.
5 do. of mixed Figured.
2 do. of narrow Calimancoe.
2 do. of broad Calimancoe.
2 do. of spotted.
1 do. of Leaf.
1 do. of London Lettered.
2 do. of Plaid.
2 do. of middle Scarlet.
4 do. of broad Scarlet.
3 do. of Superfine.
2 do. of Boy's Lettered.
2 do. of Broad White Lettered.
2 do. of colored Pidgeon.
2 do. of Camblet.
33 painted Looking-glasses
12 pieces of red Stroud.
14 pieces of Mazarine Blue.
1 piece of Mazarine Blue
1 do. of black.
1 do. Red and 1 Blue.
2 pieces of 6 qrs. blue Duffil.
2 do. of 7–8ths do.
1 Nap do.
1 piece of stamped serge.
1 piece of brown Half-thicks.
1 piece of red Half-thicks.
2 do. of white do.
1 piece of blue broad-cloth.
5 laced coats.
8 plain do.
50 pairs of shoes.
3 dozen and one pair of women's worsted stockings.
1 do. of yarn do.
4 pieces and 2 Bandanoe Handker'fs.
1 dozen Lungee Romals.
1 do. Cotton Romals.
4 do. of Non-so-pretties.
8 lb. colored Thread.
3 dozen and 10 worsted caps.
2 do. of knives.
1 do. of Tobacco Boxes.
1 do. of coarse linen Handkerchiefs.
4 pieces of figured gartering.
4 do. of blue and white flowered hats.
3 dozen and 10 plain Handkerchiefs.
2 dozen of Tailors' Shears.
6 Gun Locks.
1 bunch of Black Beads.
3 gross and an half of Sleeve Link Buttons.
4 dozen of Ivory Combs.
1 gross of women's Thimbles.
100 Blankets.
160 Match-coats.
246 plain shirts.
187 ruffled do.

One of the complaints of the Ohio Indians against the French in 1748 was, that the French Traders gave but a pint of powder for a buckskin, while the English Traders gave a quart. At the conference with the Twightwee and other chiefs at Lancaster in the same year, these

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Indians announced through their speaker that they had brought a few skins to begin a trade, "and they desire you would be pleased to order your Traders to put less stones in their scales, that their skins may weigh more."

In a letter written by John Campbell (afterwards the founder of Louisville) from Fort Pitt, December 31st to January 6, 1767–68, which he sent to his employers in Philadelphia (the firm of Baynton, Wharton & Morgan), he says:

The [re] is no trade here with the Indians worth mentioning; the little that is being reduced, so that no person can help lossing considerable.

2 lbs. Powder for a Buck.
8 lbs. Lead for a Buck.
1 Stroud for 2½ Bucks.
Ruffled Shirts, 2 Bucks.
Match-coats, 2 Bucks.
Large English Blankets, 2½ B.
And every other species of Indian goods in proportion.

Jan. 6, 1768. Yesterday, the first six horse-loads of Lowry's goods arrived. It is to be hoped that he won't be able to go to the Towns this winter. Spear has sent out a few days ago, to the amount of about 1500 Bucks, to the Delaware Towns. John Gibson has a cargo on the Road, which he expects here soon.

A report was laid before the Pennsylvania Council from Conrad Weiser in July, 1747, of an interview he had had with Shekallamy and another chief of the Five Nations at Shamokin. A portion of the news received from the Indians was, that "another French Trader has since been killed in a private quarrel with one of the Jonontatich-roanu [Wyandots], between the River Ohio and the Lake Erie—the Frenchman offering but one charge of powder and one bullet for a beaver skin to the Indian; the Indian took up his hatchet and knocked him on the head, and killed him upon the spot."

Conajachanah (Canajachrera), or Broken Kettle, and two other Seneca chiefs from Kuskuskies met Secretary Richard Peters at George Croghan's house in Pennsboro Township, in June, 1750. Mr. Peters, in his report of this meeting, stated that "In a conversation after the conference, the Indians desired Andrew [Montour] to relate to me the particulars which passed about the invitation of [Captain Thomas] Cressap [representing the Ohio Company of Virginia, which was endeavoring to establish a trade with the Ohio Indians], viz., that last Fall Barny Currant, a hired man of Mr. Parker, brought them a message from Cressap, to let them know that he had a quantity of goods, and from the true love that he bore to the Indians, he gave them, viz., Seneca George, Broken Kettle, and The Stone, an invitation to come and see him [at his post on

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the site of Oldtown, Maryland]; that he intended to let them have his goods at a low rate—much cheaper than the Pennsylvania Traders sold them; and notwithstanding the people of Pennsylvania always told them they were brethren, and had a great value for them, yet this only come from the mouth, and not from the heart, for they constantly cheated them in all their dealings, which he, Colonel Cressap, was very well acquainted with; and taking pity on them, he intended to use them in another manner; and mentioned the rates that he and Mr. Parker would sell their goods to them at, which is cheaper than the first cost, be they anywhere imported, viz.; a match-coat for a buck; a strowd for a buck and a doe; a pair of stockings for two raccoons; twelve bars of lead for a buck; and so on in proportion."

The attempts to prejudice the Indians against the Traders of neighboring colonies seem not to have come at first from the Virginia Company of Traders, for President Lee of Virginia had written to Governor Hamilton in November, 1749, complaining of "the insidious behavior, as I am informed, of some Traders from your Province, tending to disturb the peace of this Colony, and to alienate the affections of the Indians from us. His Majesty has been pleased to grant some Gentlemen and Merchants of London and some of both sorts, inhabitants of this Colony [the Ohio Company of Virginia, organized in 1748], a large quantity of land west of the Mountains. The design of this grant and one condition of it, is to erect and garrison a Fort, to protect our trade (from the French) and that of any of the neighboring Colonies; and by fair, open trade to engage the Indians in affection to His Majestie's subjects; to supply them with what they want, so that they will be under no necessity to apply to the French; and to make a very strong settlement on the frontiers of this Colony; all which His Majesty has approved, and directed the Governor here to assist the said Company in carrying their laudable design into execution. But your Traders have prevailed with the Indians on the Ohio, to believe that the Fort is to be a bridle for them; and that the Roads which the Company are to make is to let in the Catawbas upon them to destroy them; and the Indians, naturally jealous, are so possessed with the truth of these insinuations that they threaten our Agents, if they survey or make these Roads that they had given leave to make; and by this the carrying of the King's grant into execution is at present impracticable. Yet these are the lands purchased of the Six Nations by the [1744] Treaty of Lancaster."

While the extent of the Indian Trade in the British Colonies in America was considerable, it was by no means the most important branch of commerce. It is difficult to find reliable statistics of the fur trade in the early records; and such as have been preserved refer almost wholly to the export part of the trade. The domestic consumption of

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skins and furs, for the manufacture of clothing, was quite large; although probably not so large as the demand from England, Holland, Russia, and other European countries. Ferris prints a report of the "Exports from New Netherlands by the West India Company from 1624 to 1635,"[1] which shows that in ten years' time the number of beaver pelts exported was 80,182, otter and other pelts, 9,347; all having a total value of 641,427 guilders. A Dutch report of the colony on the Delaware, made in August, 1663, estimates the annual trade in beaver and other peltries at about 10,000 skins.

James Logan estimated the value of the Indian trade in all the British Colonies, in 1719, to be not over £40,000.

A report of the British Trade Commissioners made September 8, 1721, gives the total value of furs and skins which were products of the Indian trade, exported from New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland and Carolina, for the past year as £17,340; while the value of the exported rice was £19,206; of log wood (lumber), £21,060; of pitch and tar, £34,990; and of tobacco, £156,000; the total estimated value of all commodities exported, including those named above, being £302,576. The total value of the imports for the same period was £431,027, of which the largest items were: woollens, £147,438; linens, £86,413; iron and nails, £35,631; silks, £18,468; and leather, £15,161.

A report of the Lords of Trade on the New York Indian trade, made in June, 1725, shows that the total exports from New York to England for the year 1717 amounted in value to £27,331, of which £10,702 represented the value of furs; in 1718 the total exports were £19,596 in value, which included £7,138 worth of furs; in 1719 the comparative figures were £16,836 and £7,487; in 1720, £15,681 and £6,659; in 1721, £19,564 and £7,045; and in 1722, £28,518 and £8,833. The total exports for the six years were £127,528, a yearly average of £21,254; while the total value of the furs and peltries included in these figures for the six years, was £47,867, or a yearly average of £7,978. So far as we can form any conclusions from these reports, they seem to show that for the period covered the fur export trade of the Colony of New York constituted nearly thirty-eight per cent. of its total export trade.

The exports of beaver and other furs, and deer-skins, from New York, November 21, 1724, to December 23, 1725, according to figures furnished the English Lords of Trade in 1725 from the books of the New York Custom House, were, in packages, 70 cases, 305 hogsheads, and 87 packs.

Burke, in his *European Settlements in America*, states that about 30,000 deer-skins were exported from North Carolina in the year 1753.

[1] *Original Settlements on the Delaware*, p. 295.

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A "Table of Exports from Philadelphia, 1759–63," prepared by the Deputy Collector of the Port in 1764, shows that but 49 chests of skins were exported in 1759; 140 in 1760; 256 in 1761; 228½ in 1762; and 132 in 1763. These returns covered the last years of the French War and the period of the Pontiac War, during nearly the whole of which time the Indian Trade was practically at a standstill.

There was a vast difference in the methods pursued by the English and by the French in their trade with the Indians. Among the former this trade was in the hands of a large number of individuals, more or less irresponsible, who, when they had once left the confines of the settlements, seem in many cases to have felt that they were bound by no laws of man or God. With the French, the trade was farmed out for the benefit of the King and Government, to whoever would pay the highest prices for the privilege. The operations of the Traders were then confined to certain fixed posts, at each of which was usually stationed a military commandant, and a number of soldiers. Trade, therefore, went hand in hand with the establishment of French authority; and this was doubtless one of the reasons why the French were generally more successful in their alliances with and their control of the Indians. The system of French management of the Indian trade can best be illustrated by citing the requirements made by the Government, of the Traders to whom the posts were leased. These are set forth in a copy of a certain "Agreement with the Sieur Charly Saint-Ange, relative to the carrying on of Trade at the Miamis and Riviere Blanche Posts," which is taken from the copies of the French documents in the Canadian archives at Ottawa. This document possesses an additional interest from the fact that it relates to two posts, the history of which has been partially given in preceding chapters. The post of the Miamis was on the site of the present Fort Wayne, Indiana, from which the band of La Demoiselle revolted in 1747, and built the village of Pickawillany, in what is now the state of Ohio; and the post of La Riviere Blanche (in 1747) was probably the same as that of the White River (the Cuyahoga) at which Saguin had his trading post in 1742. The agreement reads as follows:

This day, tenth April, one thousand seven hundred and forty-seven, We, Josue Boisberthelot de Beaucours, Governor of Montreal, and Honore Michel de Villebois, Commissioner of the said place, in accordance with the instructions of the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor General, and M. Hocquart, Intendant, have signed the present treaty and agreement with the Sieur Charly Saint-Ange, agreeing to carry on trade at Miamis and Riviere Blanche posts on the following conditions, viz.:

CLAUSE ONE

The Sieur Charly Saint-Ange, either personally or by his employes,

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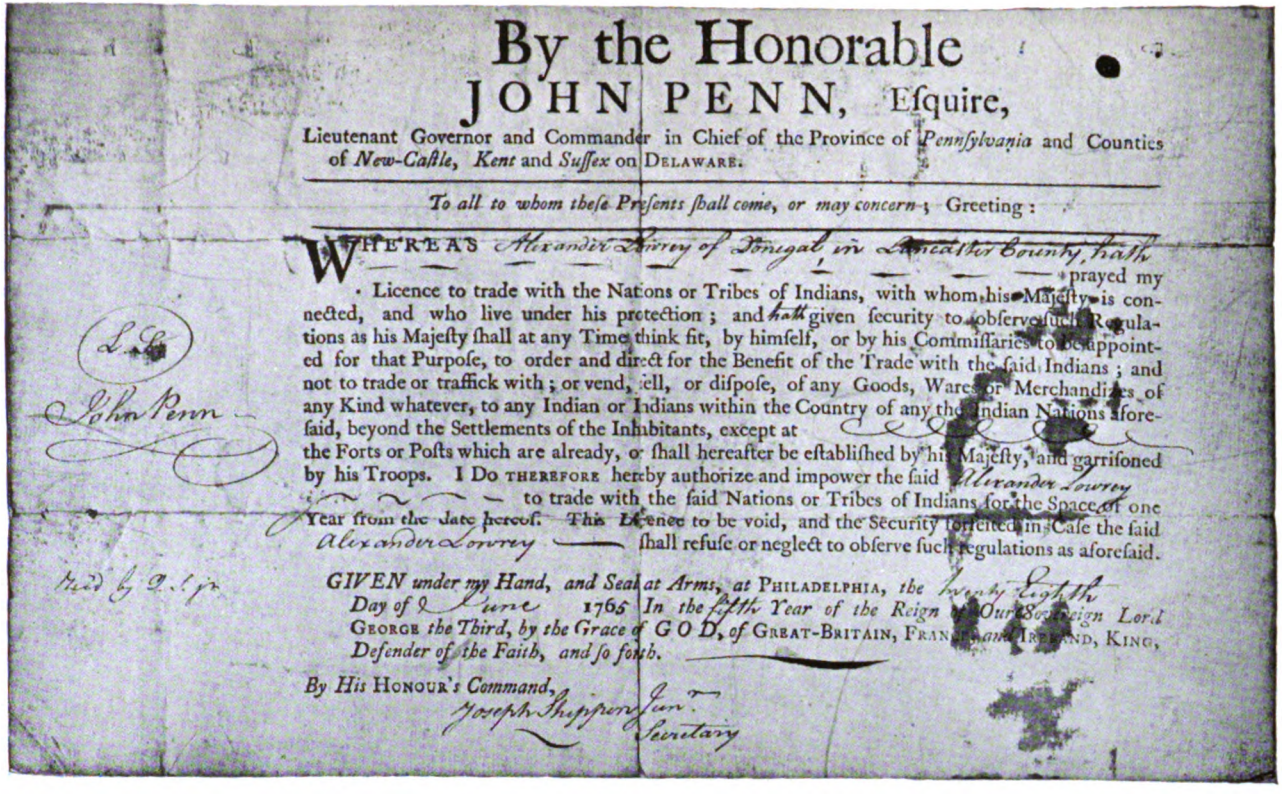

By the Honorable
JOHN PENN, Esquire,

Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of *Pennsylvania* and Counties of *New-Castle*, *Kent* and *Sussex* on DELAWARE.

To all to whom these Presents shall come, or may concern; Greeting:

WHEREAS Alexander Lowrey of Donegal in Lancaster County, hath prayed my Licence to trade with the Nations or Tribes of Indians, with whom his Majesty is connected, and who live under his protection; and hath given security to observe such Regulations as his Majesty shall at any Time think fit, by himself, or by his Commissaries to be appointed for that Purpose, to order and direct for the Benefit of the Trade with the said Indians; and not to trade or traffick with; or vend, sell, or dispose, of any Goods, Wares or Merchandizes of any Kind whatever, to any Indian or Indians within the Country of any the Indian Nations aforesaid, beyond the Settlements of the Inhabitants, except at the Forts or Posts which are already, or shall hereafter be established by his Majesty, and garrisoned by his Troops. I DO THEREFORE hereby authorize and impower the said Alexander Lowrey to trade with the said Nations or Tribes of Indians for the Space of one Year from the date hereof. This Licence to be void, and the Security forfeited in Case the said Alexander Lowrey shall refuse or neglect to observe such regulations as aforesaid.

GIVEN under my Hand, and Seal at Arms, at PHILADELPHIA, *the* twenty Eighth *Day of* June 1765 *In the* fifth *Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord* GEORGE *the Third, by the Grace of* GOD, *of* GREAT-BRITAIN, FRANCE, *and* IRELAND, KING, *Defender of the Faith, and so forth.*

By His HONOUR'S *Command,*
Joseph Shippen Junr
Secretary

L.S.
John Penn

Recd by Q. S. jr

Alexander Lowery's Trader's License.
From a photograph furnished by Mr. Frank R. Diffenderfer.

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shall exclusively carry on trade with the French or the Indians settled within the territory of the said posts, the whole according to the ordinary limits and as M. de Saint-Pierre and the Sieur Charly, his brother, have enjoyed possession thereof.

CLAUSE TWO

The said Lessee shall have the right to supply the said posts with the number of canoes and quantity of merchandise or goods he shall deem necessary. In regard to the men to be employed, it is advisable, in order that the country shall not be unmanned, that he should, in war time, employ those only who are requisite, taking care to obtain from the General in the usual way discharge for each canoe examined and signed by the Intendant, to which discharge shall be annexed the rolls of the said men who shall be accepted by the said General; the discharges and rolls will then be registered as usual at the Registry office at Montreal.

CLAUSE THREE

The said Lessee shall not be allowed to put on board his canoe more than eight quarts of *eau-de-vie* for the use of each man during the course of the voyage; he shall be further permitted to send annually in his canoes fifteen barrels containing thirty-two quarts each for the use of the above-mentioned posts.

CLAUSE FOUR

The former Lessee shall not be able to trade upon the arrival of the new Lessee at the said posts, and he will be obliged to take away any merchandise that he may have within the limits of the said posts, of which goods inventory shall be drawn up, as well as of the bales containing them, to be forwarded to Detroit, where the lessees of the other posts shall be allowed to purchase them, the whole to the knowledge of the Commandant of the said Detroit and not otherwise; if he does not prefer to dispose of them by mutual agreement with the new lessee. The late Lessee may only keep one man at each of the two said posts to collect his dues, which said men the new Lessee shall board; and they shall not, under any reason whatever, carry on any business, or else the former Lessee shall arrange with the new as to these debts, or the new Lessee shall collect them at his own expense; and, in this case, half of the amount collected shall belong to the said Lessee, who shall have the choice or alternative, and who shall be bound to hand over to Detroit the other half of the said dues to the order of the late Lessee.

CLAUSE FIVE

It shall be forbidden to the officer who shall be appointed as Commandant of the said post of Miamis, to trade, under any reason whatever, either directly or indirectly, but he may only have a small quantity of goods so as to purchase the provisions necessary for his subsistence.

CLAUSE SIX

The officer commanding at the said post of Miamis will afford all possible protection to the Lessee in order to facilitate the carrying on of his commerce and use of his authority to expel out of the said post any Traders (*coureurs de bois*) or fugitives, which he shall have arrested, if necessary, and whose goods and effects shall be seized at the suit of the said Lessee and laid aside, after inventory thereof shall have been taken,

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until the General and the Intendant shall give orders relative to their disposal.

CLAUSE SEVEN

The Farmer is bound to lodge the officer commanding and to supply him with the presents it may be advisable to make to the Indians of the said post, but always moderately, and only to keep them up in a proper disposition towards the French and to prevent them from selling their furs to the foreigners; the said presents in addition to those the Lessee shall give personally to induce the Indians to hunt and to deal with him; in all these cases, the furs that the officer commanding may receive as gifts from the Indians shall be the property of the Lessee, and the said officer will have no right to claim compensation.

CLAUSE EIGHT

The officer commanding shall pay for his own living, in consideration of which the Lessee will be obliged to convey him in his canoes, each and every year, the quantity of fifteen hundred pounds of victuals, provisions, and merchandise suitable for the purchase of food for his subsistence at this place; he shall likewise without charge convey him, his trunk, his cash-box, and other effects, either going to or coming back from the said post.

CLAUSE NINE

Should His Majesty be compelled to make any extraordinary expenditure at the said post of Miamis on account of war or of change of some Indian village, the Lessee shall be bound to provide the Commandant with the merchandise required in order to make suitable presents, which merchandise will be paid [for] by the King [at] thirty per cent. more than their purchase price.

CLAUSE TEN

The said Lessee shall provide, at his own expense, an Interpreter to the officer commanding.

CLAUSE ELEVEN

The said Lessee shall have, exclusively, the privilege or right to operate one or more forges at the said posts of Miamis and of Riviere Blanche, but the officer commanding may order him to operate another one for the use and convenience of the Indians, but still at the Lessee's profit.

CLAUSE TWELVE

On the above mentioned conditions, the said Sieur Charly Saint-Ange has willingly engaged himself to carry on trade at the said posts of Miamis and of Riviere Blanche, enjoying the same during the period of three consecutive years, from the month of August next until same date in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty, paying therefor in the hands of the General, in the month of October of each year within the said period, the first payment to be made in the current year, the sum of three thousand pounds as rent of the said two posts; and as security for payment of the same, the said Sieur Charly Saint-Ange has mortgaged all his personal property or real estate he actually owns or

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shall own in future; to the payment of which sums hereinbefore referred to, he agrees to be compelled as for His Majesty's own taxes or affairs.

Done at Montreal the day and year above written.

CHARLY SAINT ANGE.
BEAUCOURS and MICHEL.

Under English rule in Pennsylvania, before the Seven Years' War with the French and Indians, the Indian Trade was practically free and unrestricted. Any person was at liberty to engage in it, the only requirement being, the securing of a license from the Governor. Many traded without licenses, and were not molested. On two or three occasions, when, at Indian conferences, complaints were made against rum-selling, the Governors authorized the Indians to break the casks of any Traders who carried rum to sell to them; but this was rarely or never done.

After Fort Duquesne had been reduced by Forbes, some new trade regulations were enacted by the Assembly of Pennsylvania, which provided that the Indian trade should be placed under the supervision of Commissioners. These Commissioners appointed a Provincial Agent as storekeeper at Fort Pitt in the late spring of 1759. On the 22d of June, he wrote the Commissioners from Pittsburgh, complaining that George Croghan, Deputy Indian Agent for the Crown under Sir William Johnson, had assumed a power of licensing such persons to trade with the Indians at Pittsburgh as he thought proper; and also, of fixing the prices at which goods were to be sold and at which skins and furs were to be received in payment; and that Croghan was offering the Indians two shillings per pound more for their beaver than the Commissioners had instructed their agent to pay. In a letter from Croghan, dated July 31st, 1759, sent by Colonel Mercer to Stanwix, Croghan denies that he had made any change in the prices fixed by the Commissioners; and in a second letter to Stanwix, written August 11th, he complains that the attempts of the Provincial Commissioners to monopolize the trade by underselling violate the law by which these Indian Commissioners were appointed.

Of a somewhat later date is the following *Memorial* of the Indian Traders at Fort Pitt, presented to Colonel Bouquet after his return to that post in the fall of 1760, and showing that there continued to be much jealousy between the private Traders and the Provincial Agent:

To the Honble. Col. Henry Boquet, commanding his Majesty's Troops at Fort Pitt:

The Memorial of the Merchants Trading Here Humbly Sets Forth:

That by orders given out by the Honble. Brigadier General Monckton last Summer [1760], and lately renewed by you, all Merchants, Sutlers, etc., trading here, were forbid under penalty of having their Houses pulled down and being dismissed the Camp, to sell, barter, or Exchange

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with any Indian, Powder, Lead, or Spiritous Liquors, without first applying to his Majesty's Deputy Agent here for liberty for so doing; and as yesterday, Mr. McClure, in behalf of Mr. Ormsby, as well as others, did apply to his Majesty's Agent for liberty to sell a quantity of Rum to an Indian Woman; which he refused; And as the Provincial Agent has from time to time sold Powder, Lead, and Rum to the Indians without liberty first obtained of his Majesty's Agent, as enjoined by the Orders, & did yesterday sell a quantity of Rum to a Delaware Woman without liberty, after several of us had applied and were refused; That we, the Merchants trading here, look upon the Provincial Agent as a Merchant in common with us, and as much subject to any orders of the Commanding Officer; that a privilege allowed to any one Merchant to brake thro' the Orders, while the rest are obliged to obey them, must entirely ruin all the rest; which obliges me to call upon you for redress, which from your known regard to Justice we make no doubt of obtaining, and your Memorialists will ever pray, etc.

WILLIAM TRENT
EPHRAIM BLANE
THOMAS MITCHELL
THOMAS WELSH
JOHN MCCLURE
HUGH CRAWFORD
JAMES HARRIS.

The following is a tentative list of the Pennsylvania Indian Traders between 1670 and 1755. The references are chiefly to the *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania* (*C. R.*), or to the *Pennsylvania Archives* (*P. A.*):

James Adams, licensed in Chester County in 1743. (Futhey and Cope's *Chester County*, 432.)

Andrew Akins, an unlicensed Trader in 1748. (Egle's *Notes and Queries*, i., 403.)

Peter Allen, Lancaster County, 1718, a Trader at Peter's Mountain (named for him), now in Dauphin County, before 1729; at Allegheny in 1732. (Egle's *Dauphin County*, 37; *P. A.*, i., 309; Egle's *Notes and Queries*, i., 418; ii., 23, 157, 168, 180; iii., 26; xii., 191.)

Robert Anderson, licensed in 1743, 1744, 1748. (*P. A.*, Sec. Series, ii., 531.)

George Arentz, licensed in 1748. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 532.)

Jacob Arentz, one of Washington's guides in 1754. (Washington's *Journal*, 181.)

Alexander Armstrong, a Shamokin Trader in 1748. (Egle's *Notes and Queries*, ii., 241.)

John Armstrong, a Trader at Frankstown and Ohesson on the Juniata before 1744, in which year he was killed at the pass in the Alleghany Mountains since called "Jack's Narrows." (See chapter x.; *C. R.*, iv., 680.)

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Woodworth (or Woodward) Arnold, an employe of John Armstrong in 1744, and killed in that year at Jack's Narrows. (See pp. 349–351.)

Jonas Askew, a Trader at Conestoga in 1709. (*C. R.*, ii., 489.)

Bernard Atkinson, licensed in 1748. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 532.)

Henry Bailey, died 1745; a Trader at Allegheny in 1727 or earlier, and in 1730, 1734. (*P. A.*, i., 261, 425.)

James Berry, a Shamokin Trader in 1744. (*C. R.*, iv., 681.)

William Beswick, petitioned Lancaster County Court for license in 1730. (Evans's *Lancaster County*, 27.)

Peter Bezaillion, a Conestoga Trader before 1704. (See chapter v., vol. i.; Egle's *Notes and Queries*, i., 153, 251, 419; ii., 216; *C. R.*, iii., 151.)

William Black, licensed in Chester County, 1738. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432.)

William Blythe of Shippensburg, an unlicensed Trader in 1747 and 1748. (*P. A.*, ii., 14; Egle's *Notes and Queries*, i., 403.)

Patrick Boyd, petitioned for license in Lancaster County, 1730. (Evans's *Lancaster County*, 27.)

—— Brown, an employe of Hugh Parker, killed by the Indians at Kuskuskies in 1748. (*P. A.*, ii., 16.)

—— Brown, a Trader from Scioto, met by Washington at Logstown in 1753. (Washington's *Journal of 1753*.)

James Brown, a Trader at Logstown in 1751, possibly the same as the preceding. A Trader named Brown was also one of Bouquet's guides in building Forbes's Road to Fort Duquesne in 1758. (*C. R.*, v., 532, 536; Hulbert's *Old Glade Road*, 100.)

John Buiser, licensed in 1747. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 532.)

Joseph Burgoin, licensed in Chester County in 1733. (F. and C., *Chester County*. 432.)

Lawrence Burke, a renegade Trader at Wyoming in 1758, "who had been with the Indians during the whole course of the war." (*C. R.*, viii., 143, 147; *P. A.*, iii., 437, 478.)

Thomas Burke, an employe of John Martin, taken by the French at Junandot, or the French Fort Sandoski, in 1750; a member of Captain George Mercer's Company at the Battle of Great Meadows in July, 1754; one of Armstrong's guides to Kittanning in 1756. (See chapter vi., vol. ii.; *C. R.*, v., 556; *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vi., 731; Craig's *Olden Time*, ii., 184; Loudon's *Indian Wars*, ii., 172.)

Thomas Burney, a blacksmith at Conchake on the Muskingum in 1750; at Pickawillany when it was attacked by the French in 1752. A member of Captain Andrew Lewis's Company at the Battle of Great

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Meadows in July, 1754. (See chapters v. and viii.; Gist's *Journal;* Trent's *Journal; C. R.*, v., 599; *Dinwiddie Papers*, vol. i.; *Va. Hist. Mag.*, xiii., 152.)

John Burt, licensed in Chester County, 1723, 1726; lived at "Snaketown" in 1728, "forty miles above Conestoga," on the east side of the Susquehanna. (See chapter v., vol. i.; Egle's *Notes and Queries*, i., 1, 10, 19, 41, 70; *C. R.*, iii., 301, 344.)

James Butler, an unlicensed Trader in 1747. (*P. A.*, ii., 14.)

Thomas Butler, an unlicensed Trader in 1747. (*P. A.*, ii., 14.)

Thomas Calhoun, a Trader at Tuscarawas before 1763. (See chapter x.; *History of Beaver County*, 79; Darlington's *Fort Pitt*, 85–88; McCullough's *Narrative*, in Loudon, i., 280.)

Robert Callender, a Trader of Carlisle; partner of Michael Taafe in Ohio, 1750; at Logstown, 1753. (See preceding chapters; *Gist's Journal; C. R.*, v., 524, 614, etc.; Egle's *Notes and Queries*, ii., 39, 76, 83.)

Francis Campbell, an unlicensed Trader in 1747; a resident of Shippensburg. (*P. A.*, ii., 14, 114; *C. R.*, vi., 699; viii., 99, 128, etc.)

Joseph Campbell, an unlicensed Trader in 1747 (employe of Alexander Moorhead) and 1748; of questionable character; referred to by Washington in 1753; killed by an Indian at Parnell's Knob in 1754. (*C. R.*, v., 692, 703; *P. A.*, ii., 14, 119, 173; Washington's *Journal of 1753;* Egle's *Notes and Queries*, i., 403.)

William Campbell, at Allegheny in 1753. (*C. R.*, v., 692, 703.)

John Carson, at Allegheny in 1753. (*C. R.*, v., 761; vii., 773.)

Edmund Cartlidge, a Trader at Conestoga in 1717, or earlier; licensed by Lancaster County in 1730; at Allegheny, 1727 to 1734, or later. (*P. A.*, i., 254, 261, 265, 304, 327, 425, etc.; *C. R.*, vol. iii.; see chapters v., x., and xi., vol. i., etc.)

John Cartlidge, brother to Edmund, a Trader at Conestoga in 1719; on the Potomac in 1722; killed a Seneca warrior on Monocacy Creek in 1722. (See chapter v., vol. i.; x., vol. ii.; *C. R.*, iii., 74, 148.)

James Chalmers (or Chambers), Armstrong's guide to Kittanning in 1756. (Loudon's *Indian Wars*, ii., 178.)

Samuel Chambers (with Thomas Kenton), an unlicensed Trader in 1747 and 1748; killed by the Indians from Kittanning at French Margaret's Island, near Lockhaven, in 1756. (*P. A.*, ii., 14; Loudon's *Indian Wars*, i., 176; Egle's *Notes and Queries*, i., 403.)

Martin Chartier, a Trader at the mouth of the Susquehanna in 1692; died at Dekanoagah, 1718. (See chapters iv. and v., vol. i.; *C. R.*, ii., 133, 187, 402, 405, 406, 420, 557; *P. A.* Sec. Ser., xix., 625; Egle's *Hist. Reg.*,

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ii., 250; *Notes and Queries*, ii., 88; Rupp's *Lancaster County*, 120; *Md. Archives*, viii., 341–50, 458–69, 479, 486, 517, 524, etc.)

Peter Chartier, a Trader at Conestoga and near Paxtang, 1718 to 1734; at Allegheny, 1734–45. (See chapters v. and xi., vol. i.: chapter v., vol. ii.; *C. R.*, iv., 656, 757–59; v., 1, 167, 311; *P. A.*, i., 328, 394, 425, 549, 551; *Votes of the Assembly*, iv., 13; Rupp's *Lancaster County*, 120.)

Thomas Clark, licensed in Chester County in 1754. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432).

William Clark, licensed in 1745. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 532.)

Martin Cleaver, licensed in 1747. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 532.)

Joseph Cloud, licensed by Chester County Court, 1724, 1725. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432.)

Philip Coleman, licensed in 1745, 1746, 1747. (*P. A.* Sec. Ser., ii. 532.)

Cornelius Comegys, a Trader among the Susquehannocks in 1695. (See *Md. Arch.*, xx., 339, 391, 405, 415; xxiii., 427).

Moses Coombe, a Trader on Conoy Creek, Lancaster County, before 1719. (See chapter v., vol. i.; Egle's *Notes and Queries*, i., 153, 251, 419; ii., 216.)

George Connell, licensed in Chester County in 1749. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432.)

Charles Conner, licensed in Chester County 1730, 1731. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432.)

Peter Corbie (or Corbet), of Donegal, an unlicensed Trader in 1747 and 1748. (*P. A.*, ii., 14; Egle's *Notes and Queries*, i., 403.)

Samuel Cozzens, a Shamokin Trader in 1728; licensed in 1744; an unlicensed Trader in 1747; at Logstown in 1751. (*P. A.*, i., 227; ii., 14; Sec. Ser., ii., 531; *C. R.*, v., 532, 536.)

Hugh Crawford, a Trader to the westward as early as 1739; licensed in 1747; unlicensed in 1748; one of Croghan's most efficient lieutenants; at Pickawillany May 29, 1750; at Lower Shawnee Town, January, 1752; took up land now the site of Huntingdon before 1755; captured by Pontiac's Indians at mouth of Maumee, 1763; acted as guide and interpreter for the Mason and Dixon Line surveyors July 16 to November 5, 1767; died in 1770; in the settlement of his estate was mentioned a tract of land (which he probably received for his services with Mason and Dixon), called "Crawford's Sleeping Place, on Youghiogheny River, twenty miles above Fort Pitt." (*Mag. West. Hist.*, v., 455; *C. R.*, v., 437, 570; Bouquet Papers, Johnson Papers, Gist's *Journals; P. A.*, Third Ser., i., 284; Africa's *Huntingdon County*, 435.)

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James Crawley (or Crowley), an unlicensed Trader in 1747. (*P. A.*, ii., 14; Egle's *Notes and Queries*, i., 403.)

Thomas Cresap, settled at the site of Shawnee Old Town, on the Potomac, in Maryland, where he built a trading post about 1742; acted as agent for the Ohio Company of Virginia, 1748 to 1755. (*P. A.*, i., 311, 504–28, etc.; *C. R.*, vols. iv. and v.; Darlington's *Gist;* Scharf's *Western Maryland.*)

George Croghan, a Protestant Irishman from Dublin, who came to America in 1741; licensed 1744, 1747; died at Passyunk, Penna., in 1782, leaving a daughter Susannah, who married Lieut. Augustine Prevost, a Swiss officer in the British army. A complete history of Croghan's life and activities would be a history of the Indians and Indian Trade of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana, from 1746 to 1776. (See preceding chapters, and, in particular, chapter xiv, vol. i.; and chapters i. and ii., vol. ii.; Thwaites's *Early Western Travels*, vol. i.; Darlington's *Gist;* Egle's *Notes and Queries*, Third Ser., ii., 346; *C. R.*, vols. v. to xii.; *P. A.*, vols. i. to ix.; *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vols. vi. to viii.; vii., 982 (sketch); *Votes of the Penna. Assembly*, vols. iv., v.)

Samuel Cross, licensed in Chester County, 1744–48. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432.)

James Cunningham, a Trader at Allegheny in 1745. (*C. R.*, iv., 757.)

Barnaby Curran, an employe of Hugh Parker and of the Ohio Company at Kuskuskies in 1749; with Gist through Ohio in 1750; at Shanoppin's Town with John Finley and William Russell in June, 1753; one of Washington's guides to the Ohio in the Fall of 1753. (*C. R.*, v., 440; *Va. State Papers*, i., 248; Darlington's *Gist;* Washington's *Journal of 1753.*)

Jonas (or Jonah) Davenport, licensed by Chester County Court in 1718 and 1725; by Lancaster County, 1730; a Conestoga Trader before 1718; at Allegheny, 1727 to 1734, or later. (*P. A.*, i., 255, 261, 300, 425; Egle's *Notes and Queries*, i., 251, 419.)

Solomon Davis, a Trader at Minisink in 1719 (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., xix., 660.)

John Davison, one of Washington's interpreters in 1753; interpreter at Logstown in 1754; furnished information for Evans's map of 1755. (*C. R.*, vi., 616, 682; vii., 60, etc.; *P. A.*, ii., 119; *Dinwiddie Papers*, i., 174; Washington's *Journal of 1753;* Darlington's *Gist*, 272.)

Robert Desap (Dunlap ?), an unlicensed Trader in 1747. (*P. A.*, ii., 14.)

James Devoy, taken prisoner with George Henry, John Evans, and

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Owen Nicholson, about 1752, by a party of French Indians, "as they were trading beyond the Ohio." (See chapter viii., vol. ii.; *Votes of the Assembly*, iv., 242; *P. A.*, ii., 234; Rupp's *Cumberland County*, 67.)

William Dixon, licensed in 1748. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 532.)

Joseph Dobson, furnished information for Evans's map of 1755 regarding the country about the Lower Shawnee Town. (Darlington's *Gist*, 271.)

John Duguid, licensed in 1743, 1744, 1747. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 531–32.)

John Dougell (probably the same as the preceding), licensed in 1748. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 532.)

Arthur Dunlap, a resident of Path Valley in 1750; furnished information to Braddock about supposed French sympathizers in 1755. (*C. R.*, vi., 381, 397; *P. A.*, ii., 299.)

Matthew Dunlap, licensed in Chester County in 1751. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432; Egle's *Notes and Queries*, i., 403.)

Robert Dunlap (see Desap), a resident of Drumore Township, Lancaster County in 1745; an unlicensed Trader in 1748. (See *P. A.*, ii., 14.)

William Dunlap, applied to the Lancaster County Court for a license in 1730, at which time he was described as "an old Trader"; at Allegheny in 1734. Could this have been the Trader for whom Dunlap's Creek, in Fayette County, was named? (Evans's *Lancaster County*, 27; *P. A.*, i., 425; Egle's *Notes and Queries*, i., 419.)

James Dunning (sometimes incorrectly written Denning, Demming, Denny, Dinnen, etc.), a Trader at Allegheny 1734 to 1754; licensed in 1744 (Denning); robbed by Peter Chartier and the Shawnees at Allegheny April 18, 1745; an unlicensed Trader in 1747 (Denny) and 1748; one of Forbes's and Bouquet's guides in 1758. (See chapter xi., vol. i., etc.; *C. R.*, v. 87, 229; *P. A.*, i., 425; ii., 135; Sec. Ser., ii., 532; *Votes of Assembly*, iv., 13; Rupp's *Western Penna. App.*, 23; Hulbert's *Old Glade* [Forbes's] *Road*, 94, 99.)

Robert Dunning, a Donegal Trader in 1730. (Egle's *Notes and Queries*, i., 419; v., 432.)

Andrew Englehart, licensed in 1748. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 532.)

Erwin see Irwin.

Jabez Evans, taken by French Indians in Kentucky, 1753. (See chapter vii., vol. ii.; *C. R.*, v., 626, 642, 663.)

Jacob Evans, taken by French Indians in Kentucky, 1753, and sent

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to France as a prisoner. (See chapter vii., vol. ii.; *C. R.*, v., 626, 642, 663; *P. A.*, ii., 132.)

John Evans, taken by French Indians, beyond the Ohio, in 1752, and sent to France. (See chapter viii., vol. ii.; *Votes of the Assembly*, iv., 242; *P. A.*, ii., 234; Rupp's *Cumberland County*, 67.)

Joseph Faulkner (or Fortiner), an employe of Taafe and Callender; taken by the French at Sandusky Bay, September, 1750. (See chapter vi., vol. ii., *C. R.*, v., 556; *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vi., 731; Craig's *Olden Time*, ii., 183.)

Dougal Ferguson, licensed 1743; one of Bouquet's guides in 1758. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 531; Hulbert's *Old Glade Road*, 110.)

John Finley, licensed 1744–46, 1748; an unlicensed Trader in 1747; at Lower Shawnee Town in January, 1752; attacked by Indians at Little Pict Town, 1753; at Logstown, June, 1753. (See chapter vii., vol. ii.; *C. R.*, v., 570; *P. A.*, ii., 14; Sec. Ser., ii., 531–32; Trent's letter in Darlington's *Gist*, 192.)

John Fisher, a Trader at Allegheny in 1729. (See chapter vii., vol. i.; *P. A.*, 254, 265.)

Timothy Fitzpatrick, a Trader at Allegheny in 1734. (*P. A.*, i., 425.)

John Fraser, or Frazier, a Paxtang Trader in 1737; licensed in 1747; settled at Venango in 1753; at the mouth of Turtle Creek in 1753–54; one of Bouquet's guides in 1758; one of the messengers sent from Fort Pitt to warn off the settlers at Redstone in 1768(?) (*C. R.*, v., 614, 659, 731; ix., 539; *P. A.*, ii., 14; Hulbert's *Old Glade Road*, 100; Washington's *Journal of 1753;* Egle's *Notes and Queries*, ii., 305.)

Corse Froom, a Trader at Pechoquealin in 1728. (*C. R.*, iii., 348.)

James Galbraith, a Donegal Trader about 1719. (Egle's *Notes and Queries*, ii., 84.)

James Galbraith, Jr., a Trader at Allegheny in 1753. (*C. R.*, v., 614.)

John Galbraith a Donegal Trader in 1732; licensed in 1744 and 1748; an unlicensed Trader in 1747. (*P. A.*, ii., 14: Sec. Ser., ii., 531, 532; Egle's *Notes and Queries*, vii., 193.)

John Garland, of Newcastle, licensed by Governor Francis Lovelace in 1672. (See chapter ii., vol. i.)

Sylvester Garland, Newcastle, licensed by William Penn in 1701. (See chapter ii., vol. i.; *C. R.*, ii., 29, 45, 69, 532.)

Nicolas Gateau, a Trader at Conestoga in 1704. (*C. R.*, ii., 174, 176, 186.)

Simon Girty, Sr., "Edgil's man, at Chambers's in Paxtang," 1747,

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unlicensed; licensed in 1744; killed near Paxtang by an Indian, in a drunken brawl, 1751. (*P. A.*, ii., 14; Butterfield's *History of the Girtys.*)

Nicole Godin, a Conestoga Trader in 1704. (*C. R.*, ii., 140, 143, 172, 186, 400, 402, 485.)

George Graham, licensed in 1748. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 532.)

John Gray, an unlicensed Trader in 1747; at Lower Shawnee Town, 1752. (*C. R.*, v., 570.)

James Hamilton, a Trader of Lancaster County before 1750. (See Evans's *Lancaster County.*)

Ezekiel Harlin, a Trader at Brandywine and Conestoga before 1718. (*C. R.*, iii., 33, 231, 246, 261, 406.)

John Harris, licensed by Lancaster County Court in 1730; "an old Trader" then; founder of Harris's Ferry; father-in-law of John Finley; father of John Harris, Jr., the founder of Harrisburg. (See Egle's *Notes and Queries.*)

John Harris, Jr., a Trader at Harris's Ferry from 1747 to 1785 or later; at Allegheny in 1753; took a prominent part in the French and Indian wars and the Revolution. (*C. R.*, v., 614; *P. A.*, ii., 13, etc.)

Thomas Harris, a Donegal Trader before 1746. (See Evans's *Lancaster County;* Egle's *Notes and Queries*, vi., 201.)

Edward Hart, a Conestoga Trader in 1724. (See *P. A.*, Sec. Ser., xix., 728.)

John Hart, one of the Shamokin Traders; killed at Allegheny in 1729; Hart's Rock, in the Ohio River, below the Big Beaver, preserved his name for many years. (See chapters vii. and xi., vol. i.; *P. A.*, i., 254, 265.)

John Hart, licensed in 1744; possibly a nephew of Martha, wife of Peter Bezaillion; returned to Pennsylvania in the summer of 1755 from Canada, whither he had fled from Cumberland County to avoid arrest for killing a man; an interpreter for the Cherokees at Philadelphia, 1758. (Egle's *Notes and Queries*, i., 154; *C. R.*, viii., 124; *P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 532; *Votes of the Assembly*, iv., 418.)

John Harvey, licensed in 1743. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 531.)

Nicholas Haupt, licensed in 1743. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 531.)

John Hays, a Trader at Logstown in 1748. (*P. A.*, ii., 16.)

David Hendricks, an unlicensed Trader in 1747; at Lower Shawnee Town in January, 1752; taken by the French Indians near Blue Lick Town in Kentucky in January, 1753. (See chapter vii., vol. ii.; *C. R.*, v., 570, 626, 642, 663.)

James Hendricks, a Trader at Conestoga about 1690; interpreter in

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1718. (See chapter ii., vol. i.; *C. R.*, iii., 36, 73; *P. A.*, Sec. Ser., xvi., 522.)

James Hendricks, a Trader at Allegheny in 1743. (*C. R.*, iv., 655.)

George Henry, taken by the French Indians, beyond the Ohio, in 1752, and sent to France. (See chapter viii., vol. ii.; *P. A.*, ii., 234; Rupp's *Cumberland County*, 67.)

Henry Hetherington, licensed in Chester County, 1746, 1749. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432.)

Timothy Higgins, an employe of Henry Smith at Malson, a Shawnee Town on the Susquehanna, near or at Shamokin, in 1728. (See chapter vi., vol. i.; *C. R.*, iii., 349; *P. A.*, i., 227.)

Thomas Hill, a Trader at Allegheny in 1734. (*P. A.*, i., 425.)

Adams Hoopes, an unlicensed Trader in the employ of Edward Shippen in 1747. (*P. A.*, ii., 14.)

Gordon Howard, a Donegal Trader before 1725. (See chapter v., vol. i.; Evans's *Lancaster County;* Egle's *Notes and Queries*, ii., 87.)

Barnabas Hughes, a Donegal Trader before 1753. (See Evans's *Lancaster County*.)

James Hunter, licensed in Chester County in 1750. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432.)

Thomas Hyde, taken by the French Indians in Kentucky in January, 1753. (See chapter vii., vol. ii.; *C. R.*, v., 626, 642, 663.)

Luke Irwin, an employe of George Croghan in the Ohio country; taken by the French at Sandusky Bay in 1750. (See chapter vi., vol. ii.; *C. R.*, v., 556; *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vi., 731; Craig's *Olden Time*, ii., 181.)

William Ives, a Trader in Ohio in 1752. (See Trent's *Journal*, in chapter viii., vol. ii.)

Chris. Jacob, licensed in 1743. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 531.)

William Jamison, an employe of Peter Allen; at Allegheny in 1732. (*P. A.*, i., 309.)

Joseph Jessop, a Trader at Peixtan (Paxtang) in 1707. (*C. R.*, ii., 405.)

John Kelly, of Donegal, a Trader at Allegheny in 1732 and 1734. (*P. A.*, i., 328, 425; Egle's *Notes and Queries*, ii., 87.)

John Kelly, of Paxtang, a Trader at Allegheny in 1734. (*P. A.*, i., 425).

John Kennedy, one of Lowrey's Traders, "taken at Gist's" by the French in 1754. (*C. R.*, vi., 143; *Mag. West. Hist.*, xii., 480.)

Edward Kenny, a Trader at Allegheny in 1734. (*P. A.*, i., 425.)

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Thomas Kenton, or Kinton, an unlicensed Trader in 1747 ("Logan-Edgil"); at Pickawillany in February, 1751; at Logstown in May, 1751. (*P. A.*, ii., 14; *C. R.*, v., 524, 532.)

Ralph Kilgore, an employe of John Fraser; taken by the French Indians on Mad Creek near Pickawillany in May, 1750. (See chapter viii., vol. ii.; *C. R.*, v., 482; *P. A.*, ii., 50; *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vi., 599).

Jacob Kuykendal, a Trader at Minisink in 1719. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., xix., 660.)

Caleb Lamb, a Trader at Logstown in 1751. (*C. R.*, v., 532.)

John Lawrence, "an old Trader," applied for a license to the Lancaster County Court in 1730. (See Evans's *Lancaster County*, 27.

John Lee, an unlicensed Trader in 1747. (*P. A.*, ii., 14.)

Jacques Le Tort, a Trader on the Schuylkill before 1690; at Conestoga in 1696. (See chapter v., vol. i.; *Md. Arch.*, xx., 406, 470.)

James Le Tort, son of the preceding, a Trader at Conestoga, Paxtang, Shamokin, Allegheny, Miamis, and Kanawha, 1704 to 1742; last mentioned in the *Penna. Col. Records* in 1742. A James Le Tort was a member of Captain Peter Hogg's Company at the Battle of Great Meadows, July, 1754. (See chapter v., vol. i.; *C. R.*, vols. i. to iv.; *P. A.*, vols. i. and ii.; Sec. Ser., ix., 179; Egle's *Historical Register*, ii., 250; Egle's *Notes and Queries*, i., 251; ii., 217; iii., 484; iv., 117.)

Alexander Lowrey (b. 1723; d. 1805), a Trader at Allegheny after 1744; furnished information for Evans's map of 1755. (See chapter v., vol. i., and the numerous sketches by his descendant, Samuel Evans, in his *History of Lancaster County;* Egle's *Notes and Queries;* Potter's *American Monthly*, iv., 186; *Mag. West. Hist.*, xii., 480; Darlington's *Gist*, 272.)

Daniel Lowrey, an unlicensed Trader in 1748. (Egle's *Notes and Queries*, i., 403.)

James Lowrey, licensed in 1744, 1747; unlicensed in 1748; taken by French Indians in Kentucky in January, 1753, but escaped. (See Alexander Lowrey references; also, *C. R.*, v. 438, 626, 642, 663; Egle's *Notes and Queries*, i., 403.)

John Lowrey, killed by a Frenchman or Indian at Allegheny in 1749. (See Alexander Lowrey references; also, *C. R.*, v., 461; *P. A.*, ii., 39.)

Lazarus Lowrey, father of Alexander, Daniel, James, and John, mentioned above; a Trader in Donegal in 1729; licensed by Lancaster County Court in 1730; by the Governor in 1744 and 1747; at Allegheny in 1734. (See chapter v., vol. i.; *P. A.*, i., 425; Sec. Ser., ii., 531; *Va. State Papers*, i., 232.)

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James McAllister, licensed in 1743. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 531.)

Andrew McBryer, one of Lowrey's Traders; at Pickawillany when it was attacked by the French in 1752; taken at Gist's by the French in 1754. (See chapter viii., vol. ii.; Trent's *Journal; C. R.*, v., 599; vi., 143; *Mag. West. Hist.*, xii., 480.)

John McClure, licensed in Chester County in 1743. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432.)

Archibald McGee, licensed in Chester County in 1730. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432.)

Alexander McGinty, taken by French Indians while trading in Kentucky in January, 1753; furnished information for Evans's map of 1755. (See chapter vii., vol. ii.; *C. R.*, v., 626, 642, 663; *Votes of the Assembly*, iv., 272; Ellis's *Juniata County*, 782; Darlington's *Gist*, 271.)

John McGuire (Maguire), one of Washington's guides in 1753. (See Washington's *Journal of 1753*.)

John McIlviane, licensed in 1743. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 531.)

Thomas McKee, licensed in 1744, 1747; a Trader at Big Island, on the South Branch of Susquehanna in 1742; at Allegheny in 1753; served as a captain in the French and Indian War; father of Alexander McKee, of Fort Pitt. (See chapter vii., vol. i.; *C. R.*, iv., 630, 642; v., 761; *P. A.*, ii., 14, 634; *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vii., 48, 110; Ellis's *Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys*, i., 885, 891; ii., 1547, 1550; Bell's *Northumberland County*, 67, 711; Egle's *Notes and Queries*, ii., 244, 265; v., 154.)

James McKnight, licensed in 1743. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 531.)

James McLaughlin, taken at Venango by the French in 1752. (*C. R.*, v., 659; *P. A.*, ii., 131; Washington's *Journal of 1753*.)

Neal McLaughlin, licensed in Chester County in 1749. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432.)

Charles McMichael, licensed in Chester County, 1742; licensed by the Governor, 1743, 1745. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432; *P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 531–32.)

James McMordie, licensed in Chester County in 1751. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432.)

John Maddox, a Trader at Allegheny in 1729. (*P. A.*, i., 265, 340.)

John Martin, an Ohio Trader in 1750. (Craig's *Olden Time*, ii., 184.)

George Mason, licensed in Chester County in 1730, 1732, 1737. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432.)

Samuel Mealy, licensed in Chester County in 1750. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432.)

Thomas Meener, an unlicensed Trader in 1747. (*P. A.*, ii., 14.)

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John Millison, licensed in Chester County in 1754. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432.)

George Miranda, a Trader at Allegheny in 1736, 1738. (*C. R.*, iv., 88; *P. A.*, i., 550.)

Isaac Miranda, a Conestoga Trader in 1715; died 1732; his daughter married Governor James Hamilton. (*P. A.*, i., 266; Egle's *Notes and Queries*, vii., 193.)

Reed Mitchell, a Trader at Allegheny in 1753. (*C. R.*, v., 692, 703.)

Thomas Mitchell, an unlicensed Trader in 1747 ("J. Warder") and 1748; at Allegheny in 1753; killed in Ohio in 1767 (?). (*P. A.*, ii., 14; *C. R.*, v., 692, 703; ix., 470; Ellis's *Perry County*, 1019.)

Thomas Mitchell, Jr., a Trader at Allegheny in 1753; probably the Thomas Mitchell who was killed at Waketomica in Ohio in 1763. (See p. 381; *C. R.*, v., 692, 703; ix., 470, 521.)

Solomon Moffat, a blacksmith at Allegheny in 1736, when he killed an Indian, and was obliged to flee to Virginia. (*C. R.*, iv., 88.)

Alexander Moorhead, licensed in 1744, 1745, 1746, 1747; unlicensed in 1748. (*P. A.*, ii., 14; Sec. Ser., ii., 531–32.)

Thomas Moran, a Trader at Allegheny in 1734. (*P. A.*, i., 425.)

Peter Moyer, licensed in 1748. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 532.)

Joseph Nelson, a Trader at Logstown in 1751, 1753. (*C. R.*, v., 532, 536, 634.)

Amos Nicholls, a Trader among the Susquehannocks in 1695. (See *Md. Archives*, xx., 339, 391, 405, 470.)

Owen Nicholson, taken prisoner with James Devoy, George Henry, and John Evans, "as they were trading beyond the Ohio," by a party of French Indians, about 1752. (See chapter viii., vol. ii.; *Votes of the Assembly*, iv., 242; *P. A.*, ii., 234; Rupp's *Cumberland County*, 67.)

Terence O'Neal, licensed in Chester County in 1730. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432.)

David Owens, son of John; said to have killed and scalped his Indian wife and children, and carried their scalps to the English for a reward; Bouquet's guide in 1758 (?); his interpreter in 1764. (See Parkman's *Pontiac*, 482; *P. A.*, iv., 61, 173; *C. R.*, ix., 190, 215; Hulbert's *Old Glade Road*, 100; David Jones's *Journal*, 18; Loudon's *Indian Wars*, ii., 177.)

John Owens, an unlicensed Trader in 1747 ("Rob. Dunning's, E. Shippen & Levy") and 1748; at Logstown in 1751; one of Croghan's Traders at Aughwick in 1754; Bouquet's guide in 1758 (?). (*C. R.*, v., 532, 536; vi., 160; *P. A.*, ii., 14.)

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Bernard Packer, licensed in 1748. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 532.)

John Palmer, a Trader at Allegheny in 1734. (*P. A.*, i., 425.)

Hugh Parker, an unlicensed Trader in 1747; at Kuskuskies, in the employ of the Ohio Company in 1748; took up land in what is now Washington County, Md., 1750. (*C. R.*, v., 440; *P. A.*, ii., 14, 16, 31; Scharf's *Western Maryland*, ii., 985.)

John Patten, or Pattin, taken by the French at Miamis Fort in 1750; at Logstown in 1750, 1754. (See chapter viii., vol. ii.; *C. R.*, v., 556, 707, 730, 762; *P. A.*, ii., 123, 233, 240; *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vi., 731; Craig's *Olden Time*, ii., 184; *Wis. Hist. Soc. Col.*, xviii., 113, 143.)

James Patterson, a Donegal Trader in 1717; licensed in Chester County, 1722, 1723; at Allegheny in 1734; died 1735. (See chapter v., vol. i.; F. and C., *Chester County*, 432; *P. A.*, i., 425; Evans's *Lancaster County*; Egle's *Notes and Queries*.)

Samuel Patterson, licensed in Chester County, 1752, 1754, 1759. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432.)

Paul Pearce, of Pennsboro Manor; an unlicensed Trader in 1747 and 1748; at Logstown in 1751. (*C. R.*, v., 532; *P. A.*, ii., 14; Egle's *Notes and Queries*, i., 403.)

Garret (or Gerard) Pendergrass, a Trader near the mouth of the Kanawha in 1735. (*C. R.*, vii., 632; *Va. State Papers*, i., 232; *Md. Archives*, v., 153.)

Thomas Perrin, licensed in Chester County in 1724; in Lancaster County, 1730. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432; Evans's *Lancaster County*, 27.)

John Petty, a Shamokin Trader in 1728. (*C. R.*, iii., 349, 350; *P. A.*, i., 227–28.)

Henry Platt, licensed in 1743, 1745, 1746. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 531–32.)

Charles Polk, a Donegal Trader before 1725; at Allegheny in 1734; near mouth of Kanawha in 1735; settled in what is now Washington County, Md., before 1737; at Nemacolin's Camp on Dunlap's Creek in 1751. (*C. R.*, v., 760; *P. A.*, i., 425; Darlington's *Gist*, 70, 140; *Va. State Papers*, i., 232.)

John Postlethwaite, a Conestoga Trader in 1739. (Egle's *Notes and Queries*, ii., 87.)

John Potts, licensed in 1744; unlicensed in 1747 ("at Harris's in Pextang, J. Warder") and 1748; at Logstown in 1750; at Pickawillany in February, 1751. (*C. R.*, v., 526; *P. A.*, ii., 14, 50; Sec. Ser., ii., 531.)

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Florian Povinger, licensed in 1744 and 1745. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 531–32.)

John Powell, a Juniata Trader in 1747. (*C. R.*, v., 87.)

William Powell, an unlicensed Trader in 1747 ("by McGee"); taken by the French Indians while trading in Kentucky in January, 1753. (*C. R.*, v., 626, 642, 663; *P. A.*, ii., 14.)

Jacob Power, licensed in 1747. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 532.)

Aaron Price, a Trader at Lower Shawnee Town in January, 1752. (*C. R.*, v., 570.)

John Prince, licensed in Chester County in 1755. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432.)

Silas Pryor, a Brandywine Creek Trader in 1727. (*C. R.*, iii., 406.)

Jacob Pyatt, a Trader at Allegheny in 1734 and 1745; at Logstown in 1751; settled in Path Valley in 1748. (*C. R.*, iv., 757; v., 532, 536; *P. A.*, i., 425; ii., 15, 383.)

John Quinn, an Allegheny Trader, found dead on the Path by Conrad Weiser in 1748. (Thwaites's *Early Western Travels*, i., 44.)

Timothy Reardon, a partner of John Trotter at Venango in 1752. (*P. A.*, ii., 131.)

Alexander Richardson, licensed in Chester County, 1730, 1732, 1737, 1745, 1746. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432.)

David Robeson, wounded at Allegheny in 1729. (See p. 352; *P. A.*, i., 254, 265.)

James Ross, licensed in Chester County in 1738. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432).

Antony Sadowsky, a Shamokin Trader in 1728; at Allegheny in 1729. (*C. R.*, iii., 349–50, 364; *P. A.*, i., 222, 265; *Am. Pioneer*, i., 199; ii., 325.)

John Savanner (or Swanner), licensed in Chester County, 1742, 1743. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432.)

John Schoenhoven, a Trader at Pechoquealin in 1728. (C. *R.*, iii., 348.)

Nicholas Schoenhoven, a Trader at Pechoquealin in 1728. (*C. R.*, iii., 327; *P. A.*, i., 223.)

John Scull, brother to Nicholas, Jr.; a Trader at Shamokin in 1728, and before; interpreter at Conestoga May 26, 1728. (*C. R.*, iii., 315, 322, 328, 337, 364; *P. A.*, i., 222.)

Nicholas Scull, died 1703, leaving six sons, Nicholas, Edward, Jasper,

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John, James, and Joseph; accused of selling rum to the Indians, contrary to law, in 1686. (*C. R.*, i., 140.)

Nicholas Scull, Jr., a Trader at Shamokin in 1728; afterwards Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania. (*C. R.*, iii., 322, 328; *P. A.*, i., 222.)

Peter Shaver (or Shafer), licensed in 1744; an unlicensed Trader in 1748; at Allegheny in 1733 and 1745; lived "four miles from the Susquehanna River" in 1750; possibly the same as "Peter Suver," whom Washington met near Turkey Foot, May 20, 1754; took up land at mouth of Shaver's Creek, in the present Huntingdon County, 1754, where he was killed by the Indians in October or November, 1755. (See chapter ix., vol. i.; *C. R.*, ii., 539, 541; iv., 758; v., 762; vi., 160; *P. A.*, ii., 14, 136; Sec. Ser., ii., 531; Africa's *Huntingdon County*, 40, 307; Washington's *Journal of 1754*, 67; *Penna. Gazette*, Nov. 13, 1755.)

John Shaw, licensed in Chester County in 1754. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432.)

William Sherrill, a Conestoga Trader in 1712. (*C. R.*, ii., 579.)

Joseph Simon, or Simons, an extensive Trader located at Lancaster about 1740–45, and later; supplied many of the travelling Traders with goods. (*P. A.*, ii., 364; Evans's *Lancaster County*; Egle's *Notes and Queries*, ii., 39, 458.)

Thomas Simpson, one of Croghan's Traders at Aughwick in 1754. (*C. R.*, vi., 160.)

Henry Smith, a Shamokin Trader in 1728; at Allegheny in 1729 and 1732. (*C. R.*, iii., 349, 350, 364, 544, 545; *P. A.*, i., 254, 265; Egle's *Notes and Queries*, ii., 305.)

James Smith, an employe of John, or Jack, Armstrong; killed at Jack's Narrows in 1744. (See references to John Armstrong.)

John Smith, a Trader at Pechoquealin in 1728. (*C. R.*, iii., 327; *P. A.*, 223.)

Leonard Smith, licensed in 1743. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 531.)

Robert Smith, a Pickawillany Trader, who lived on the Great Miami in March, 1751. (See chapter viii., vol. ii.; Gist's *Journal*.)

Samuel Smith, a Donegal Trader in 1718 and 1754. (See chapter v., vol. i.; Evans's *Lancaster County;* Egle's *Notes and Queries*, iv., 413, 428; *C. R.*, vi., 149.)

Benjamin Specker (or Spyker), licensed in 1743 and 1744. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 531.)

John Specker, licensed in 1743, 1745. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 531.)

Michael Sprogle, licensed in 1744. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 531.)

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Francis Stevens, a Trader at Allegheny in 1734; for him was named Frankstown. (*P. A.*, i., 425, 648; ii., 136; Africa's *Blair County*, 99.)

Daniel Stewart, licensed in Chester County in 1742. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432.)

James Stewart, licensed in 1745. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 532.)

Dennis Sullivan, an unlicensed Donegal Trader in 1747 ("E. Shippen") and 1748; at Logstown in 1751. (*C. R.*, v., 532, 536; *P. A.*, ii., 14.)

Jonathan Swindell, a Conestoga Trader in 1721. (See chapter x.; *C. R.*, iii., 154.)

Robert Syer (Sayer?), licensed in 1744. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 531.)

Michael Taafe, a partner of Robert Callender; at Logstown in 1753. (See chapter viii., vol. ii.; *C. R.*, v., 614.)

Robert Taggart, licensed in 1747 and 1748. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 532.)

Robert Terrill, a Trader on the Schuylkill in 1684; accused of selling rum to the Indians, contrary to law, in 1684. (*C. R.*, i., 63.)

Peter Tostee, licensed in 1744; robbed by Peter Chartier and the Shawnees on the Ohio April 18, 1745. (*Votes of the Assembly*, iv., 13; *C. R.*, iv., 776, 780; Crumrine's *Washington County*, 18; Rupp's *Western Penna.*, App., 23.)

John Traner, an unlicensed Trader in 1748. (Egle's *Notes and Queries*, i., 403.)

William Trent, a partner of George Croghan; served as a captain in the Old French War of 1745–47; at Pickawillany in June, 1752; at Logstown in 1753; in Fort Pitt during its siege in 1763. (See his *Journal* in chapter viii., vol. ii.; *C. R.*, v., 614; *P. A.*, ii., 16, 50; Darlington's *Gist;* Darlington's *Fort Pitt;* Egle's *Notes and Queries*, ii., 4, 12, 18, 31, 37–40.)

John Trotter, taken by the French at Venango in 1752. (*C. R.*, v., 659; *P. A.*, ii., 131; Washington's *Journal of 1753*.)

Morris Turner, an employe of John Fraser; taken by the French Indians at Mad Creek near Pickawillany, May 27, 1750. (*C. R.*, v., 482; *P. A.*, ii., 50; *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vi., 599.)

Arnold Viele, a New York Trader on the Susquehanna and Ohio in 1692. (See chapter iv., vol. i.; chapter iv., vol. ii.)

John Walker, an Allegheny Trader before 1755; one of Bouquet's guides in 1758. (Hulbert's *Old Glade Road*, 86, 100; Calendar of Bouquet Papers in *Can. Archives 1889*, p. 78.)

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Oliver Wallace, licensed in Lancaster County in 1730; at Allegheny in 1734. (Evans's *Lancaster County*, 27; *P. A.*, i., 425.)

William Wallace, licensed in 1747. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 532.)

Edward Ward, a half-brother of George Croghan; at Allegheny in 1754, when he surrendered the Virginia Fort to the French.

Thomas Ward, a Trader at Logstown in 1751. (*C. R.*, v., 532, 536.)

Edward Warren, an employe of Peter Allen, of Donegal; at Allegheny in 1732. (*P. A.*, i., 309; Smith's *Armstrong County*, 232–3, 239.)

Francis Water, Donegal ("Shippen and Levy"), an unlicensed Trader in 1747. (*P. A.*, ii., 14.)

Abraham Wendell, a New York Trader; "in Seneca Land," on the Genesee or Upper Allegheny in 1735. (*C. R.*, iii., 660; *P. A.*, i., 454.)

William West, a Trader at Allegheny in 1753. (*C. R.*, v., 761.)

Patrick Whinney, licensed in Chester County in 1749 and 1750. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432.)

James White, licensed in 1743. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii. 531.)

John Wilkins, died 1741; a Trader at Allegheny in 1732. (*P. A.*, i., 328.)

Peter Wilkins, a Donegal Trader in 1719; died 1748. (Evans's *Lancaster County*.)

Robert Wilkins, a Donegal Trader in 1718. (See chapter v., vol. i.; Egle's *Notes and Queries*, ii., 181.)

Thomas Wilkins, a Donegal Trader in 1719; died 1746. (See chapter v., vol. i.; Evans's *Lancaster County*.)

William Wilkins, a Donegal and Shamokin Trader in 1723–24. (*C. R.*, iii., 148, 153; Egle's *Notes and Queries*, ii., 168, 181; xii., 191.)

Charles Williams ("with Thos. McKee"), an unlicensed Trader in 1747 and 1748). (*P. A.*, ii., 14.)

James Wilson, licensed in 1744. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 532.)

Thomas Wood, licensed in 1743, 1748. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 531–32.)

John Wray, the first Trader to settle near the site of Raystown (now Bedford); came to Philadelphia with Potomac Shawnees from Allegheny in 1732. (*C. R.*, iii., 481, 491, 496.)

Thomas Wright, an employe of John Burt at Snaketown, "forty miles above Conestoga," where he was killed by Minsi Indians in September, 1727. (*C. R.*, iii., 301, 344.)

Peter Wylt, licensed in 1743. (*P. A.*, Sec. Ser., ii., 531.)

Jacob Young, a Conestoga Trader before 1680. (See chapter ii.)

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James Young, an Allegheny Trader in 1750. (*P. A.*, ii., 50.)

John Young, an Allegheny Trader in 1734. (*P. A.*, i., 425.)

William Young, licensed in Chester County in 1730, 1737. (F. and C., *Chester County*, 432.)

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CHAPTER X

THE PERILS OF THE PATH

THE first permanent European settlement undertaken on the west shore of Delaware Bay was wholly destroyed by the Indians living there. This was a colony of some thirty Dutchmen, who had been sent from Amsterdam by Samuel Godyn, David Pietersz. de Vries, Jan de Laet, Gilliaume Van Renssellaer, and five of their associates, all known as Patroons. The ship bearing the settlers and "a large stock of cattle" left Texel December 12, 1630, and reached the Bay of Delaware in the early part of May, 1631. They landed at the mouth of the Whorekill (near the present Lewestown, Del.), built a small fort or trading house (named Fort Oplandt), and planted a settlement, which they called Zwanandael

In 1632, the nine persons who had sent out this colony, despatched a second expedition, consisting of a ship and "yacht," under the command of Patroon De Vries himself. These two vessels sailed from the Texel on the 24th of May, and after a long stay at Portsmouth, to make repairs, started on a cruise to the West Indies, and did not reach the mouth of Delaware Bay until the 3d of December. "Before sailing out of the Texel," De Vries writes in the *Journals* of his voyages, "we understood that our little Fort [at Swanandael] had been destroyed by the Indians, the people killed—two and thirty men—who were outside the Fort working land." On the 6th of December, De Vries went by boat into the mouth of Lewes Creek, and coming by the fort, which was destroyed, found it surrounded with palisades, but almost burned to the ground. He also found lying about on the ground the skulls and bones of the unfortunate colonists, with the heads of the horses and cows they had brought with them.

The 8th of December, we sailed into the River before our destroyed Fort, well on our guard. The Indians came to the edge of the shore, near the yacht, but dared not come in. At length, one ventured to come aboard the yacht, whom we presented with a cloth dress, and told him we desired to make peace. Then immediately more came running

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aboard, expecting to obtain a dress also. . . . An Indian remained on board of the yacht at night, whom we asked why they had slain our people, and how it happened. He then showed us the place where our people had set up a column, to which was fastened a piece of tin, whereon the arms of Holland were painted. One of their chiefs took this off for the purpose of making tobacco pipes, not knowing that he was doing amiss. Those in command at the House made such an ado about it, that the Indians, not knowing how it was, went away and slew the chief who had done it, and brought a token [scalp] of the dead to the House to those in command, who told them that they wished they had not done it; that they should have brought him to them. . . . They then went away, and the friends of the murdered chief incited their friends . . . to set about the work of vengeance. Observing our people out of the House, each one at his work, that there was not more than one inside, who was lying sick, and a large mastiff, who was chained—had he been loose they would not have dared to approach the House; and the man who had command standing near the House, three of the stoutest Indians, who were to do the deed, bringing a lot of beaver-skins with them to exchange, sought to enter the House. The man in charge went with them to make the barter; which being done, he went to the loft where the stores lay, and in descending the stairs, one of the Indians seized an axe, and cleft his head, so that he fell down dead. They also relieved the sick man of life; and shot into the dog, who was chained fast, and whom they most feared, twenty-five arrows before they could despatch him. They then proceeded toward the rest of the men, who were at their work, and going among them with pretentions of friendship, struck them down. Thus was our young colony destroyed, causing us serious loss.

On the 1st of January, 1633, De Vries started up Delaware Bay and River in his yacht, and on the 5th arrived off the present Gloucester Point, where Captain Cornelius Jacobson May had, in 1623–24, built a trading post, to which he had given the name of Fort Nassau. It was now occupied by a few Indians, who wanted to barter some furs. As De Vries had already given all his goods to the Indians at Swanandael, he told them that he only wanted some corn, and was accordingly directed to proceed to Timmer-kill. But an Indian woman, belonging to the "Sankitans," came and warned him not to go far up the creek, or they would be attacked. She told him that the Indians had murdered the crew of an English boat which had ascended the "Count Ernest" River.

Alexander Boyer wrote to Director Peter Stuyvesant from Fort Nassau on the Delaware September 25th, 1648:

On the 21st of September arrived here the chief of the Minquase country with four of his people and thirty to forty beavers, to learn whether no vessel had arrived here from the Manhattans with goods. As there is an abundance of peltries in their country at present, it makes them desire for these goods so much more. They are also much dissatisfied, that this River is not steadily provided with cargoes by our people.

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The Swede [Governor Johann Printz] has at present few goods, so that, were cargoes here now, we should doubtless have a good trade with the Minquase.

There have been killed by the Indians two men of the Swede, who had gone to the savages with six or seven guns and some powder and lead, to trade the same there.

On August 10, 1657, Director Jacob Alrichs wrote Peter Stuyvesant from New Amstel (now Newcastle, Del.) concerning the activities of the Swedes who had been permitted by the Dutch to remain at Altena on Christina Creek and other points farther up the river:

But they send from time to time men and merchandise to the Minquaas' Country, under the pretense that all relating to Trade was contained in their Liberties, and permitted. Consequently, a short time ago, one Sander [Alexander] Boyer and Lourens Hansen, *Captain des Armes*, from Christina, now Altena, have been there to trade for others, their principals. But Lourens Hansen did not return, having been cruelly killed by a savage, and robbed of the wampum and other things which he had with him. Afterwards, a Minquaas savage, with some other savages, came here into the Colony, who commands in the Fort nearest here, in the Minquaas' Country, and brought some wampum and other things which they had taken from the savage there who had perpetrated the crime.

In the summer of 1671 two Delaware River Indians killed two Dutchmen on the Island of Matiniconck, in that river. At a Council held at Fort James in New York, in September, Peter Alrichs, who brought the news of this affair, said that two of the Saggamores of the nation of the murderers had promised their best assistance to bring in the criminals, or to procure them to be knocked in the head, if that might be allowed by the Governor.

The occasion of this murder, Alrichs told the Council, was, "that Tashiowycan's sister dying, hee exprest great griefe for it, and said, 'The Manetto hath killed my Sister, and I will go and kill the Christians'; soe, taking another with him, hee went and executed this barbarous ffact."

Some ten weeks later, Captain William Tom wrote from the Delaware to Governor Lovelace regarding this affair:

About eleven days since that Mr. Alrick came from New Yorke, the Indians desire to speak wth. us once more concerning the murtherers, whereupon they sent for me to Peter Rambers; where coming, they faithfully promised within the time of six days to bring in the murtherers, dead or alive.

Whereupon, they sent out two Indians to the stoutest, to bring him in; not doubting easily to take the other, he being an Indian of little courage. But the least Indian, getting knowledge of the design of the

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sachems, ran to advise his fellow, and advised him to run, or else they should be both killed. Who answered him, he was not ready, but in the morning would go with him to the Maques; advised him to go to the next house, for fear of suspition; which he did. And the two Indians, coming to his house at night, the one being his great friend, he asked him if he would kill him; who answered no; but the sachems have ordered you to die. Whereupon he demanded what his brothers said; who answered, "They say the like." Then he, holding his hands before his eyes, said, "Kill me." Whereupon, this Indian that comes with Cockee shot him with two bullets in the breast, and gave him two or three cuts with a bill on the head; and brought him down to Wickakee, from whence we shall carry him tomorrow to Newcastle, there to hang him in chains. . . .

When the other Indian heard the shot in the night, naked as he was, he ran into the woods; but this sachem promised to bring the other alive.

An account of the killing of Francis de la Tore and some of his fellow servants, employes of John Hans Steelman, by the Shawnees, at Steelman's instigation, in 1710–11, has already been given in the chapter on the Conestoga Traders. La Tore had run away from Steelman and carried off some of his goods. The latter thereupon sent the young men of the Pequea Creek Shawnees after him, to bring him back or kill him, telling them they might have the goods for their trouble.

Governor William Keith told his Council at Philadelphia on the 6th of March, 1721, that he had been informed of the sudden death of an Indian at one of their towns a considerable distance beyond Conestoga, occasioned by blows given him by John or Edmund Cartlidge, the Traders. James Logan and Col. John French were appointed to go to Conestoga and hold an inquest. They did so, and after returning, presented their report to the Council. The murdered man was a Seneca Warrior, who had been hunting at "Manakassy [Monocacy], a branch of the Pawtomeck River." The Indian had been hunting there alone, with a Shawnee squaw, who kept his cabin, until John Cartlidge and his people came there to trade with him for his skins. Cartlidge was accompanied by an Indian guide, a Ganawese. The latter gave the Commissioners the following account of the tragedy:

That he came in the evening to the Indian's cabin who is dead, with John Cartlidge and Edmund Cartlidge, who had with them William Wilkins and one Jonathan [Swindell], both servants to John Cartlidge, with an intent to trade with the said Indian for his skins, they having hired him [the deponent] to be their guide.

That John Cartlidge gave the Sennikae some small quantities of Punch and Rum, three times that evening, as he remembers, as a free gift, and then sold him some rum. That both the Sinnikae and this examinant were drunk that night.

That in the morning, the Sinnikae said he must have more Rum,

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for that he had not received all he had bought; that, accordingly, he went to John Cartlidge and demanded it; but that John denied to give him any, and taking the pott out of the Indian's hand, threw it away. That the Indian told him he need not be angry with him for asking more, for he owed it to him, and he still pressed him to give it.

That John then pressed the Indian down, who fell with his neck across a fallen tree, where he lay for some time, and then rising, walked up to his cabin.

The dead Indian's squaw was afterwards examined and said:

That she was in the cabin, when her husband came in for the gun; that she shrieked out, and endeavored to hinder him from carrying it out, but could not.

That she followed him, and Wilkins, being then by the cabin, laid hold of the gun, but could not take it from him; that Edmund forced it out of his hands, and struck him, first on the shoulder, and then thrice upon the head, and broke the gun with the blows; that John Cartlidge stripped off his clothes, and coming up to them found the Indian sitting, and he then gave him one kick on the side with his foot, and struck him with his fist.

That the man never spake after he received the blows, save that after he got into the cabin, he said his friends had killed him; . . . that he died the next day, about the same time he was wounded the day before. That she was alone with the corpse and went to seek some help to bury him. That in the meanwhile an Indian woman, wife of Passalty of Conestogoe, with the Hermaphrodite [an Indian eunuch] of the place, coming thither by accident and finding the man dead, buried him in the cabin.

The Cartlidges were imprisoned for this homicide, but afterwards released on bail, and later discharged at the request of the Five Nations, who considered the killing to have been done in self-defence.

On September 27, 1727, James Logan informed the Pennsylvania Council that he had, the night before, received a letter from Justice John Wright, of Chester County, giving account that one Thomas Wright was killed by some Indians at Snaketown, forty miles above Conestoga. This letter, together with the depositions of John Wilkins, Esther Burt, and Mary Wright, and the report of an inquest, were laid before the Council. These papers set forth:

That on Monday, the eleventh of this instant, September, several Indians, together with one John Burt, an Indian Trader, and the said Thomas Wright, were drinking near the house of said Burt, who was singing and dancing with the Indians, after their manner.

That some dispute arising between one of the Indians and the said Wright, Burt bid Wright knock down the Indian; whereupon, Wright laid hold of the Indian, but did not beat him; that afterwards Burt struck the Indian several blows with his fist.

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That the said Wright and Burt afterwards retired into the house, where the Indians followed them, and broke open the door; that while Wright was endeavoring to pacify them, Burt called out for his gun, and continued to provoke them more and more.

That hereupon, the said Wright fled to the hen-house to hide himself, whither the Indians pursued him; and next morning he was there found dead. . . .

Jonas Davenport, who brought this account, and was one of the inquest, being called in and examined, says . . . that John Burt sent for rum to the Indians, which they drank, and that he afterwards sent for more; that a dispute arising between Burt and the Indians, the said Burt filled his hands with filth and threw it among the Indians; that it is generally believed, if Burt had not provoked and abused them to so high a degree, the matter might be made up amicably. . . . Being likewise examined of what nation these Indians are, says, they are of the Munscoes [Minsi] Indians, who live on an eastern branch of Sasquehannah.

The members of the Governor's Council observed that his was the first accident of the kind they had ever heard of in the Province since its first settlement.

The adventure which the Trader, Thomas McKee, had with the Shawnees at Big Island, in the mouth of the Juniata River, in January, 1743, has already been given at length in the chapter on the Shamokin Traders. McKee was saved at that time through the good offices of a white woman prisoner among the Shawnees, who warned him of the plot against his life. She was probably the woman he afterwards took as a wife, and the mother of Alexander McKee, the traitor.

In April, 1744, Alexander Armstrong, an Indian Trader, near Shamokin, having a suspicion that his brother John, or Jack, Armstrong, had been murdered by the Indians, met with some eight or nine other Traders at the house of Joseph Chambers, in Paxtang Township, and sent a message to Shekallamy and the Delaware chief at Shamokin. Shekallamy sent eight Indians down to meet them, and to go and hunt for Armstrong's body at his last supposed Sleeping-Place, which was on the Juniata River. The white men and five of the Indians went there, and from the Sleeping-Place "steered along a Path about three or four miles to the Narrows of Juniata [now Jack's Narrows], where they suspected the said murder to have been committed, and where the Allegheny Road crosses the [Juniata] Creek." At the Sleeping-Place they found a shoulder-bone, which they supposed to be that of John Armstrong, "and that he himself was eaten by the Indians." Below the Juniata Crossing, they found the corpses of Woodworth Arnold and James Smith, two of Armstrong's employes.

These murders having been brought to the attention of Governor Thomas, he sent Conrad Weiser to Shamokin for the purpose of learning

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the history of the crime from Shekallamy, who, meanwhile, had caused two of the murderers to be arrested by his son, John, and had sent them down the river to Lancaster County for trial.

"The following," wrote Weiser in his *Journal*, "is what Shick Calamy declared to be the truth of the story concerning the murder of John Armstrong, Woodward Arnold, and James Smith, from the beginning to the end":

That Mussemeelin [a Delaware Indian] owing some skins to John Armstrong, the said Armstrong seized a horse of the said Mussemeelin, and a rifled gun; the gun was taken by James Smith, deceased.

Sometime last Winter, Mussemeelin met Armstrong on the River Juniata, and paid [on account] to about twenty shillings, for which he offered a neck-belt in pawn to Armstrong and demanded his horse. And James Armstrong refused it, and would not deliver up the horse, but enlarged the debt, as his usual custom was. And after some quarrel, the Indian went away in great anger, without his horse, to his hunting cabin.

Sometime after this, Armstrong, with his two companions, in their way to Ohio, passed by the said Mussemeelin's hunting cabin. His wife only being at home, demanded the horse of Armstrong, because he was her proper goods; but did not get him (Armstrong had by this time sold or lent the horse to James Berry).

After Mussemeelin came from hunting, his wife told him that Armstrong had gone by, and that she had demanded the horse of him, but did not get him; (and, as is thought, pressed him to pursue and take revenge of Armstrong).

The third day in the morning, after James [John] Armstrong was gone by, Mussemeelin said to the two young men that hunted with him, "Come, let us go towards the Great Hills, to hunt bears." Accordingly, they went all three in company. After they had gone a good way, Mussemeelin, who was foremost, was told by the two young men that they were out of their course. "Come you along," said Mussemeelin; and they accordingly followed him till they came to the path that leads to Ohio.

Then Mussemeelin told them he had a good mind to go and fetch his horse back from Armstrong, and desired the two young men to come along. Accordingly they went.

It was almost night, and they travelled till next morning. Mussemeelin said, "Now, they are not far off. We will make ourselves black; and I will tell Jack that if he don't give me the horse, I will kill him." And when he said so, he laughed.

The young men thought he joked, as he used to do. They did not blacken themselves, but he did.

When the sun was above the trees (or about an hour high), they all came to the fire, where they found James Smith sitting, and they sat also down. Mussemeelin asked where Jack was. Smith told him that he was gone to clear the Road a little. Mussemeelin said he wanted to speak with him, and went that way, and after he had gone a little distance from the fire, he said something and looked back, laughing. But he

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having a thick throat, and his speech being very bad, and their talking with Smith, hindered them from understanding what he said. They did not mind it.

They, being hungry, Smith told them to kill some turtles, of which there were plenty, and we would make some bread, and, by and by, they would all eat together.

While they were talking, they heard a gun go off, not far off, at which time Woodward Arnold was killed, as they learned afterwards.

Soon after Mussemeelin came back and said, "Why did n't you two kill that white man, according as I bid you? I have laid the other two down."

At this they were surprised, and one of the young men, commonly called Jemmey, run away to the River Side. Mussemeelin said to the other, "How will you do to kill Catabaws, if you cannot kill white men? You coward, I 'll show you how you must do."

And then taking up the English axe that lay there, he struck it three times into Smith's head before he died. Smith never stirred.

Then he told the young Indian to call the other, but he was so terrified he could not call. Mussemeelin then went and fetched him, and said to him, that two of the white men were killed; he must now go and kill the third; then each of them would have killed one. But neither of them dare venture to talk about it. Then he pressed them to go along with him. He went foremost. Then one of the young men told the other, as they went along, "My friend, don't you kill any of the white people, let him do what he will; I have not killed Smith, he has done it himself; we have no need to do such a barbarous thing."

Mussemeelin being then a good way before them, in a hurry, they soon saw John Armstrong, setting upon an old log. Mussemeelin spoke to him and said, "Where is my horse?" Armstrong made answer and said, "He will come by and by; you shall have him."

"I want him now," said Mussemeelin. Armstrong answered, "You shall have him; come, let us go to that fire" (which was at some distance from the place where Armstrong sat), "and let us smoke and talk together."

"Go along, then," said Mussemeelin. "I am coming," said Armstrong, "do you go before, Mussemeelin; do you go foremost." Armstrong looked then like a dead man, and went towards the fire, and was immediately shot in his back by Mussemeelin and fell. Mussemeelin then took his hatchet and struck it into Armstrong's head, and said, "Give me my horse, I tell you."

By this time one of the young men had fled again that had gone away before, but he returned in a short time. Mussemeelin then told the young men they must not offer to discover or tell a word about what had been done, for their lives; but they must help him to bury Jack, and the other two were to be thrown into the River. . . .

The Pennsylvania Traders, as has been shown, reached the Ohio River with their pack-horses and goods for trade, as early as 1727 or before. For nearly twenty years after that time, their commerce with the Western Mingoes, Delawares, and Shawnees, was carried on in peace,

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and with comparatively few dangerous or fatal experiences. Such as resulted in casualties to the white men or the Indians, so far as shown on the Pennsylvania records, scarcely exceeded half a dozen before 1755. Some of these adventures will be here set forth, as the records give them.

On the 20th (or 30th) of April, 1730, Mukqun, Keakeen-homman, Shawannoppan, and three or four more Delaware chiefs wrote to Governor Gordon by Edmund Cartlidge and James Le Tort, as follows (Cartlidge's spelling was somewhat more simplified):

We, the subscribers, the Chiefs of the Delawares at Alleegaeenin on the Main Road, Do hereby certify to the Governor as far as we know concerning the death of one white man last Fall, and another shot through the leg and broke it; none of us being present at ye actions, but have made due inquiry and find thereon:

That some of our people was going down this River a hunting. Two of the Shoahmokin Traders, viz., John Fisher and John Hart, went along; and when they was got above a hundred miles down, our people proposed to Fire Hunt, by making a Ring.

The white men would go along. Our people would have dissuaded them from it, alleging they did not understand it, and might receive some harm. But they still persisted in it; so all went together; Wherein ye said John Hart was shot in at ye mouth and ye bullet lodged in his neck, and so was killed. But by whom we cannot learn, which believe to be accidental, and not on purpose.

As to the other, David Robeson, he being at a friend's house about twenty miles distant from hence [probably at one of the Shawnee towns on the Conemaugh, twenty miles distant from Kittanning], Henry Smith being there with rum, the Indians got drunk. And a certain man belonging to the Five Nations, being formerly taken a prisoner by them, and there being in drink, got hold of a gun. A Shawnee woman there present seized on ye said gun; and by struggling, ye gun went off and shot ye said David as aforesaid.

As soon as ye gun was discharged and ye man wounded, our friend aforesaid immediately took ye said gun from him by violence and broke it over him; and the Chief Mingue in this Town took charge of him for some time, till there came a Company of ye Five Nations by, and they took him away with them, least, by the means of drink, he might do some further mischief.

In October, 1736, James Logan laid before the Council a letter written by the Trader, George Miranda, stating that one, Solomon Moffat, a blacksmith, had, in a quarrel with a Mingo at one of the Ohio River towns, given him a blow, from which he died; and that Moffat had fled toward Virginia. Logan added that the Indians then in Philadelphia gave a different account of the affair, the blacksmith being charged with having been abusive to the Indian, and having first assaulted him, giving him several blows and wounds, from which the Mingo died after several

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days. The Council offered a reward of ten pounds for the discovery and arrest of Moffat.

An account of the murder of one Brown, an employe of Hugh Parker, the Virginia Trader, by some drunken Indians at Kuskuskies in October, 1748, has already been given in the chapter relating to that settlement. So, also, has reference been made in the chapter on the White River Indians, to the killing of a noted Philadelphia Trader by the French Indians about 1745 (whose name has not been preserved) in revenge for which the White River Indians and the Wyandots killed five French Traders near Sandusky in 1747.

James Adair, the Scotch Trader of Carolina, who travelled and traded among the Chickasaws and Creeks for nearly forty years after 1735, has left on record in his book on the Southern Indians, which has long been out of print, the following accounts of two of his adventures with the Shawnees and the Choctaws:

"In the year 1749, when I was going to Charles Town, under the provincial seal of South Carolina with a party of Chikkasah Indians, the small-pox attacked them, not far from Muskohge Country, which, becoming general through the camp, I was under the necessity of setting off by myself. Between Flint River and that of the Okmulgeh, I came up with a large camp of Muskohge Traders, returning from English settlements. The gentlemen told me, they had been lately assured at Augusta by the Cheerake Traders, that above a hundred and twenty of the French Shawano might be daily expected near that place, to cut off the English Traders, and plunder their camp, and cautioned me with much earnestness at parting to keep a watchful eye during that day's march.

"After having rode 15 miles, about 10 o'clock, I discovered ahead through the trees, an Indian ascending a steep hill. He perceived me at the same instant, for they are extremely watchful of such dangerous attempts. Ambuscade is their favorite method of attack.

"As the company followed their leader in a line, each at a distance of a few yards from the other, all soon appeared in view. As soon as I discovered the foremost, I put up the shrill whoop of friendship and continually seemed to look earnestly behind me, till we approached near to each other, in order to draw their attention from me and fix it that way, as supposing me to be the foremost of a company still behind.

"Five or six soon ran at full speed to be at the place of our meeting, to prevent my escape. They seemed as if their design was to attack me with their barbed arrows; lest they should alarm my supposed companions by the report of their guns. I observed that instead of carrying their bow and quiver over their shoulders, as is the travelling custom, they held the former in their left hand, bent, and some arrows. I ap-

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proached and addressed them, and endeavoured to appear quite indifferent at their hostile arrangement, while I held my gun ready in my right hand about five yards distance from them.

"Their leader, who stood foremost, came and struck my breast with the butt end of one of my pistols, which I had in my left hand. I told him with that vehemence of speech which is always requisite on such an occasion, that I was an English Chikkasah, and informed him by expressive gestures that there were ten of Chikkasah warriors, and more than half that number of women, besides children, a little behind, just beyond the first hill. At this news, they appeared to be much confused, as it was expected, for such a number of warlike enemies to be so near at hand.

"This Shawano party consisted only of twenty-three middle-sized but strong bodied men, with large heads and broad flat crowns, and four tall young persons, who I conjectured to be of the Cheerake nation. I spoke a little to a fair-lipped warrior among them, who told me he lived at Tukkasehche, a northern town of that country. The leader whispered something to his waiter, which in like manner was communicated to the rest and they all passed by me, with sullen looks and glancing eyes.

"I kept my guard till they were out of arrow shot; when I went on at a seemingly indifferent pace. But as soon as out of their view I rode about seventy miles with great speed, to avoid the danger of a pursuit, as I imagined they would be highly enraged against me for their double disappointment. About sun-set of the same day, I discovered more Indians ahead, but instead of sounding the usual whoop of defiance, I went slowly and silently a little way, reasoning with myself about the safest method in so dangerous a situation.

"I had apprehensions of their being another party of the Shawano company, separated in that manner to avoid pursuit, which otherwise might be very easy by the plainness of their tracks, through the long grass, and herbage. But at the critical time, when I had concluded to use no chivalry but give them leg bail instead of it, by leaving my baggage horses, and making for a deep swamp, I discovered them to be a considerable body of Muskohge head-men returning home with presents from Charles Town, which they carried chiefly on their backs.

"The Wolf King (as the Traders termed him) our old steady friend of the Amooklasah Town near the late Alibahma, came foremost, harnessed like a Jackass, with a saddle on his back, well girt over one shoulder and across under the other. We seemed equally glad to meet each other; they, to hear how affairs stood in their country, as well as on the Trading Path, and I, to find, that instead of bitter-hearted foes, they were friends, and would secure my retreat from any pursuit that might happen. I told them the whole circumstances attending my meeting the Shawano,

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with their being conducted by our deceitful Cheerake friends, who were desirous of spoiling the old beloved White Path, by making it red, and earnestly persuaded them to be on their guard that night, as I imagined the enemy had pursued me when they found I had eluded their bloody intention. . . .

"The Choktah have a remote, but considerable Town, called *Yowanne*, which is the name of a worm that is very destructive to corn in a wet season. It lies forty miles below the seven southernmost towns of the nation, toward Mobille, and 120 computed miles from thence, on a pleasant small river, that runs south of the Town. As it is a remote barrier, it is greatly harassed by the Muskohge, when at war with them. . . .

"A little after those white men were murdered [two Traders killed near Yowanne by a Muskohge war party], business calling me to Mobille by myself, I chose to decline the Eastern Path, and the Middle one that leads by the *Chakchooma* Old Fields, as they were much exposed to the incursions of the Muskohge, and rode through the chief towns of the [Choktah] nation along the horse-path that runs from the Chikkasah, nearest the Missisippi, to Mobille. About six miles below the seven towns that lie close together, and next to New Orleans, I met a considerable party of leaders and head warriors returning home from war. We shook hands together, and they seemed very glad to see me. They earnestly dissuaded me from proceeding any farther . . . declaring that . . . I should surely be killed, the enemy were ranging the woods so thick. . . . I thanked them, and said I wished business allowed me to act according to their advice . . . but it did not. . . . I proceeded, and met several parties of the same main company. . . .

"I encamped early, and within two leagues of Yowanne, as it seemed to be a good place for killing wild game. I imagined also, that there the people were awed by the Muskohge from ranging the wood. But it happened otherwise; for soon after the horse-bells began to ring, two sprightly young fellows came through a cane swamp, and as enemies they crawled up the steep bank of the creek near to me, before I discovered them. My fire-arms were close at hand, and I instantly stood on my guard. They looked earnestly around to see the rest of my company, as it is very unusual for any of the Traders to take that journey alone. I asked them who they were, from whence they came, and what they were so earnestly searching for. They evaded answering my queries and asked me if I did not come by myself. I told them, without hesitation, that some way behind my companion rode out of the Path to kill a deer, as his gun was good and he could use it extremely well. On this they spoke a little together with a low voice, and then told me, that

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they belonged to Yowanne, and were part of a hunting camp, which was near at hand and in view of the Path. I asked them to sit down, which they did, but their discourse was disagreeable, as my supposed fellow-traveller was the chief subject of it. They said they would go back to their camp, and return to mine soon, to see whether the white man was come from hunting.

"They went, and were as good as their word, for they did me the honor to pay a second visit. As they were so very earnest in that which did not concern them, unless they had ill intentions, the sight of them would have instantly inflamed the heart of one not infected with stoicism, to wish for a proper place to make a due retribution. At this time, the sun was near three hours from setting. The white hunter's absence was the first and chief subject of their discourse, till evening. As on a level place, all the savages sit cross-legged, so my visitors did, and held their guns on their knees, or kept them very near, with their otter-skin shot pouch over one of their shoulders, as is usual in time of danger.

"I observed their mischievous eyes, instead of looking out eastwardly toward the Muskohge country, were generally pointed toward the N.W. the way I had come. As by chance, I walked near one of them, he suddenly snatched up his gun. No friendly Indians were ever known to do the like, especially so near home and a considerable camp of his own people. Innocence is not suspicious, but guilt. He knew his own demerit, and perhaps imagined I knew it, from concurring circumstances. To see whether his conduct proceeded from a fear of danger or from accident, I repeated the trial, and he did the same, which confirmed me in my opinion of their base intentions.

"In this uneasy and restless manner, we continued till sun-set, when one of them artfully got between me and my arms. Then they ordered me to stop the bells on my horses, which were grazing near the camp (used partly on account of the number of big flies that infest the country). I asked them the reason; they told me, because the horse frightened away the deer. I took no notice at first of their haughty command, but they repeated it with spiteful vehemence and I was forced to obey their commands. They looked and listened earnestly along the edge of the swamp, but being disappointed of their expected additional prey, in about the space of ten minutes ordered me to open the bells again.

"Of the manifold dangers I ever was in, I deemed this by far the greatest; for I stood quite defenceless. Their language and behavior plainly declared their mischievous designs. I expected every minute to have been shot down, and though I endeavored to show a manly aspect, the cold sweat trickled down my face, through uneasiness and a crowd of contrary passions. After some time, in this alarming situation,

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they told me the ugly white man staid long, and that they would go to their camp a little while and return again.

"They did as they said. To deceive them I made my bed as for two people of softened bear and buffalo skins, with the long hair and wool on, and blankets. My two watchmen came the third time, accompanied with one older than themselves. He spoke little, was artful, and very designing. They seemed much concerned at the absence of my supposed companion, lest he should by unlucky mischance be bewildered, or killed by the Muskohge. I gave them several reasons to show the futility of their kindly fears, and assured them he usually staid late to barbicue the meat, when he killed much, as he could not other ways bring it to camp; but that he never failed, on such an occasion, to come sometime in the night.

"The cunning fox now and then asked me a studied short question, in the way of cross-examination, concerning the main point they had in view, and my answers were so cool and uniform, that I almost persuaded them firmly to credit all I said. When he could no way trepan me, and there was silence for several minutes, he asked me if I was afraid to be at camp alone. I told him I was an English warrior, my heart was honest, and as I spoiled nobody, why should I be afraid.

"Their longing eyes by this time were quite tired. The oldest of them very politely took his leave of me in French, and the others, through an earnest friendly desire of smoking and chatting a little with my absent companion, told me at parting, to be sure to call them by sounding the news-whoop, as soon as he arrived in camp. I readily promised to comply for the sake of the favor of their good company; and to prevent any suspicion of the truth of my tale, I added, that if he failed in his usual good luck, they ought to supply us a leg of venison, or we would give them as much, if he succeeded.

"And now all was well, at least with me, for I took time by the forelock, and left them to echo the news-whoop. Yowanne lay nearly southeast from me, but to avoid my being either intercepted on the Path, or heard by the quick-eared savages, I went a quarter of a mile up the large cane swamp, and passed through it on a southwest course, but very slow, as it was a dark thicket of great canes and vines, over-topped with large spreading trees. I seldom had a glimpse of any star to direct my course, the moon being far spent. About an hour before daylight, I heard them from the top of an high hill, fire off a gun at camp, which I supposed was when they found me gone, and in order to decoy my supposed companion to answer them with the like report, conjecturing he would imagine it was I who fired for him, according to custom in similar cases. I kept nearly at the distance of three miles from the Path, till I arrived at the out houses of Yowanne."

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Adair also gives a few incidents of adventure which happened to other Traders in the Creek (or Muscogee) country about the time of the beginning of the French and Indian war, when the Creek chief, Great Mortar, organized a general conspiracy, intending to massacre all the English Traders in the Indian towns. While not connected with the Pennsylvania Traders, these accounts show some of the dangers to which they were all, at times, exposed:

"The mischievous savages endeavored to bring desolation on the innocent objects of their fury, wherever they came; but the different flights of the Trading People, as well as their own expertness in the woods, and their connexions with the Indians, both by marriage and other ties of friendship, disappointed the accomplishment of the French diabolical scheme of dipping them all over in blood.

"By sundry means a considerable number of our people met at the friendly house of the Wolf King, two miles from the Alebahma Fort, where that faithful stern chieftain treated them with the greatest kindness. But, as the whole nation was distracted, and the neighboring towns were devoted to the French interest, he found that, by having no fortress, and only forty warriors in his town, he was unable to protect the refugees.

"In order, therefore, to keep good faith with his friends, who put themselves under his protection, he told them their situation, supplied those of them with arms and ammunition who chanced to have none, and conveyed them into a contiguous thick swamp, as their only place of security for that time; 'which their own valor,' he said, 'would maintain, both against the French and their mad friends.'

"He was not mistaken in his favorable opinion of their war abilities, for they ranged themselves so well that the enemy found it impracticable to attack them, without sustaining far greater loss than they are known to hazard. He supplied them with necessaries, and sent them safe at length to a neighboring town, at a considerable distance, where they joined several other Traders from different places, and were soon after escorted to Savannah.

"It is surprising how those hardy men evaded the dangers they were surrounded with, especially at the beginning, and with so little loss. One of them told me that while a party of the savages were on a corn-house scaffold, painting themselves red and black, to give the cowardly blow to him and his companions, an old woman overheard them concerting their bloody design, and speedily informed him of the threatened danger. He mentioned the intended place of meeting to his friends and they immediately set off, one this way and another that, to prevent a dispute; and all met safe, to the great regret of the Christian French and their red hirelings.

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"I was informed that another considerable Trader, who lived near a river, on the outside of a town, where he stood secure in the affection of his savage brethren, received a visit from two lusty, ill-looking savages, without being discovered by any of the inhabitants.

"They were annointed with bear's oil, and quite naked, except a narrow slip of cloth for breeches, and a light blanket. When they came in, they looked around, wild and confused, not knowing how to execute the French commission consistently with their own safety, as they brought no arms—lest it should have discovered their intentions, and by that means exposed them to danger.

"But they seated themselves near the door, both to prevent his escape and watch a favorable opportunity to perpetrate their murdering scheme. His white domestics were, a little before, gone into the wood; and he and his Indian wife were in the storehouse, where there chanced to be no arms of defence; which made his escape the more hazardous. He was nearly in the same light dress as that of his visitants, according to the mode of their domestic living.

"He was about to give them some tobacco, when their countenances, growing more gloomy and fierce, were observed by his wife; as well as the mischievous direction of their eyes. Presently, therefore, as they bounded up—the one to lay hold of the white man, and the other of an axe that lay on the floor—she seized it at the same instant, and cried, 'Husband! Fight strong, and run off, as becomes a good Warrior.'

"The savage strove to lay hold of him, till the other could disengage himself from the sharp struggle the women held with him; but by a quick presence of mind the husband decoyed his pursuer round a large ladder that joined the loft, and being strong and swift-footed, he there took the advantage of his too eager adversary, dashed him to the ground, and ran out of the house, full speed to the river, bounded into it, soon made the opposite shore, and left them at the storehouse; from whence the woman, as a trusty friend, drove them off with the utmost despight,—her family was her protection.

"The remaining part of that day he ran a great distance through the woods; called at night on such white people as he imagined his safety allowed him; was joined by four; and went together to Pensacola."

Frederick Post visited Wyoming in June, 1758, to carry a peace message to Teedyuscung. In his *Journal* of this visit Post states that he met there an Indian Trader, Lawrence Bork (Burke), of Lancaster County, who had been with the Delawares the whole time of the war. This man accompanied Teedyuscung and about fifty other Indians from Wyoming to Bethlehem, following Post's visit. Timothy Horsfield wrote Governor Denny from Bethlehem about Burke upon their arrival; "Here 's a man in this Company who has an Indian Squaw for a wife;

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has been an Indian Trader, I hear, for some years. I have spoke with him, and find he has been amongst the Indians ever since the Indian War broke out. He confessed to me he had been at ye French Fort, Niagara, and had traded at the place where Fort Duquesne stands; but whether he has been there since the Fort was built, he did not say."

Burke was in Philadelphia and examined before the Council on the 14th of July, and three released captives were also examined as to his character and behavior, "who all spoke much in his favor, particularly with the respect to his treatment of a young English child that was given to his Indian wife." Burke wrote Richard Peters on the 17th that, having the interest of his king and country entirely at heart, he thought he could be of more service now in bringing the Delawares down to Shamokin than anywhere else, and would go there. "As you 're sensible the Country is doubtful of my loyalty, which I assure you, is without foundation, in order to remove any suspicion, should be glad your Honour would order a white man to be with me until I return."

On July 22, 1760, a census of the inhabitants of the village at Fort Pitt, not belonging to the army, was taken by order of Colonel Bouquet[1]; and a similar census was taken April 14, 1761. At that time, nearly all the male inhabitants of Pittsburgh were Indian Traders. Following is the enumeration of 1760; those marked with a star were also there April 14, 1761:

Cornelius Atkinson, Mary Atkinson, Anthony Baker, John Barklit, Lewis Bernard, Ephraim Blane,* Erasmus Bokias, Charles Boyle,* Philip Boyle,* James Braden, Thomas Bretton, Andrew Biarly, Phebe Byarly,* Philip Byarty,* William Bryan, James Cahoon [Calhoun], George Carr, John Coleman, Edward Cook, Hugh Crawford,* Judah [Judith] Crawford, Windle [or Vendot] Creamer,* Kate Creamer, Conrad Crone, Margaret Crone, Patrick Cunningham, John Daily,* Sarah Daily, Matthias Dobcrick, William Downy, John Duncastle,* John Everlow, Alexander Ewing, John Finley,* William Fowler, Joseph George, Edward Graham,* John Graham, John Greenfield, Isaac Hall, France Ferdinanders Harnider, James Harris, Charles Hays, Mary Hays, William Heath,* Uriah Hill, Samuel Hayden, Robert Hook, Samuel Hyden, William Jacobs, Elizabeth Jacobs, John Judy, Mary Judy, John Langdale,* John Lindsay,* Abraham Lingenfilder, Lazarus Lowry, William McAllister,* Patrick McCarty,* Lydia McCarty, John McClure, Neil McCollum,* Chris'm McCollum [a woman], John McKee [imperfect], Hugh McSwine,* Susannah McSwine, Chris. Millar,* Eleanor Millar, James Milligan,* Peter Mumaw, Adam Overwinter, Robert Paris,* Nicholas Phillips, John Pierce, Margaret Pomry, Henrietta Price, Elizabeth Randal, James Reed, Martha Reed, Mary Reed, Mary Reed [2], Robert Reed,*

[1] See *Penna. Mag.*, ii., 303, 469; iii., 351; vi., 344, 498.

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John Robinson, Leonora Rogers, Chris. Rorabunck, James St. Clair, James Sampson, Margaret Sampson, Paul Sharp, —— Sinnott, Jacob Sinnott,* Susannah Sinnott, George Sly,* Margaret Sly, Thomas Small,* Chris. Smith [a woman], Peter Smith, Tincas Smith, John Snider, Joseph Spear, William Splane,* Anna Thomas, George Tomb, Agnes Tomb, William Trent,* Mary Wallon, Edward Ward, Thomas Welsh, Bridget Winsor, William Winsor, John Work,* William Work, Henry Wumbock, ——alesby, ——dor, ——— [imperfect]. Male Children:—Robert Atkinson, Jacob Byarly, Godfrey Christian, George Creamer, Patrick Feagan, Thomas McCollum, George McSwine, Henry Millar, Chris. Phillips, George Reed, John Reed, John Sinnott, Philip Sinnott, John Work. Female Children:—Nancy Ba—, Margaret Boyle, Rebecca Boyle, Margaret Coghran, Margaret Cro—, Susan Daily, Margaret Jacobs, Elizabeth Judy, Mary Judy, Mary McSwine, Elizabeth Otter, Elizabeth Pomroy, Mary Sinn—, Elizabeth Sly, Rachel Sly, Susanna Sly, Nelly Thomas, Elizabeth Work. Total population, 149.

The census for April 14, 1761, gives the names of house owners only, with the number of men, women, and children in each house. Their names, exclusive of those who were there in 1760 (shown for both years on the former list), and exclusive of some forty-three "out-lying soldiers," with their families, were as follows:

William Armstrong, Thomas Box, Thomas Brighton, William Brown, Joseph Budwick, Thomas Calhoun, Thomas Camey [artificer], John Campbell, John Carter, William Cassady, William Clapham, Ellena Clark, Isaac Conn, James Crampton, John Craven, Eleanor Crawford, George Croghan, Arthur Curvent, Dennis Drogharty, John Field, Henry Fregstaff, Matthew Fulneck, James Gilbey, William Guttery [Guthrie, or Gauterais?], John Hadley [artificer], Dennis Hall, John Hart, John Hayton, Hugh Henry, John Hillman, Conrad House, Humphrey Kies, Frederick Klingle, John Leach, Chris. Limes, Michael Longsold, John McCantash [McIntosh], Dennis McGlaulin [McLaughlin], Richard McManhan, Joseph McMurray, Michael McMurray, Patrick McQuaid, John Meatcalfe, Thomas Mitchell, John Neal, Christopher Negty [Negley?], Ambrose Newton, Jacob Nyers [Myers], John Ormsby, John Owens, Rowland Pemberton, Philip Phillips, Woodrow, Ramsay & Co., Hugh Read, Daniel Saller, Thomas Sheppard (artificer), Samuel Shunner, Frederick Sligh, Martin Smith, George Snigh, John Sutton, Nancy Thomas, William Thompson, William Venible, William Vinson [Winsor, or Winston?], Thomas Walker, John Welch, George White.

In the chapters on George Croghan, mention has been made of the fact that while at Fort Pitt acting as Deputy Agent for Indian Affairs, under Sir William Johnson, Croghan instructed his assistant, Ensign Thomas Hutchins, April 3, 1762, to visit the different posts on the

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Western Lakes, the Wabash, and the Scioto, hold Councils with the Indians about each post, deliver messages to them, and examine into their state and behavior.

Hutchins's *Journal* of his travels and negotiations on this mission, preserved in the Bouquet Papers, is as follows:

"The 4th of April, 1762, Set out from Fort Pitt in order to Visit the different Posts to the westward, agreeable to Instructions received from George Croghan Esqr., His Majesty's Deputy Agent for Indian Affairs.

"The same day arrived at Beaver Creek, where I was detained two days on account of wet weather. Whilst I was here, an Indian Woman, sister to White Eyes, a Delaware Chief, with some other Indians of the same Nation, complain'd to me that a Frenchman who lived at Fort Pitt had been at their Houses a few days ago and had Stole a Silk shirt, with Sundry other things, to the amount of Six pounds. They requested of me to write Mr. Croghan to try to bring the offender to Justice, which I accordingly did.

"The 7th, Set out for Mohickon John's, where I arrived the 19th, at 12 o'clock, after a very desagreeable March, Occasioned by Bad Weather. I made him and his Tribe acquainted by a belt of Wampum that the Commander-in-Chief insists on his taking to Fort Pitt Edward Long and John Hague, both Deserters from the King's Troops; and likewise one, Frederick Jee [Jice?], who was taken Prisoner during the War and now is very troublesome to the Traders Passing backward and Forward.

Mohickon John desired me at my Return to acquaint Mr. Croghan that one of the Soldiers had secretly gone from his House some time ago; and [he] had been in quest of him but could not find him; that he intended setting out in two days for the Lower Shawneese Town, where he suspected he was gone to, near which place the Cherokees had a few days before Killed and Scalped two Shawneese and made a Delaware Boy Prisoner; that he had some Business to Transact with the Shawneese in behalf of his Tribe, and as soon as it was over would do all in his Power to get the Deserter; and if he should find him he would immediately take him, with the other, to Fort Pitt; and if he should be obliged to Return without him, he would loose no time in taking the one that Remained at his House to Mr. Croghan.

"He further says that as Frederick Jice had sundry times Stole Horses and Bells from Travellers passing by his House, for which himself and his People were Blamed, one of his young Men Tomhawked him.

"Travelled a few miles further and Encamped.

"The 21st, at night, arrived at Sandusky, where I was detained for want of a Batteau untill the 30th of April; then sett out for D'Troit,

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and arrived there the 8th of May, after a very Disagreeable Passage, Occasioned by wet weather and Contrary Winds.

"I was detained at D'Troit until the 15th of May, Partly on Account of Bad Weather and partly on account of Batteau not being Ready for me, I being obliged to leave my other Boat here; which, being now Prepaired, Set out for Michilimackinac, where I arrived the Second of June; detained here four days by Contrary Winds and Ruff Sea.

"The day I arrived, the Cheapwas Kill'd a Man of the Meynomeney Nation upon the Parade in the Fort, in Revenge for two Men that had been kill'd by his Nation some Considerable time ago of the Cheapwas. Soon after this happen'd, a Chief, with the Murderers and some more of their Tribe, came to the Commanding Officer and assured him that they were extremely Sorry that they had Kill'd the Indian within the Fort, and hoped they wou'd impute to the Passion they were in and not to any Insult intended to be offered to the English; and to Confirm what was said, they made the Commanding Officer a Present of an Indian Slave and desired him to rest Satisfy'd.

"June the 4th, Eighty of the Ottawas and Sixty of the Cheapwey Nations assembled; and, agreeable to my Instructions, I made them acquainted by a Belt of Wampum with the Business I came on. They then said they wou'd meet tomorrow and inform me with what they had to say.

"The 5th, The above Indians met, and the Chief of the Ottawas Spoke as follows:

"'Brother, We are much obliged to Sir William Johnson for taking so much Notice of us as to send you to visit our Country—

"'We assure you that we have no evil in our Hearts against the English, but are entirely reconciled to them, and will do all in our Power to advise our young People to behave well; every thing you told us at the Treaty of Peace at D'Troit we have experienced to be true, and we are of the same mind now that we were of then.'

"Notwithstanding the Satisfaction the Ottawas express'd in the above speech, I was Inform'd by my Interpreter that they expected a Present from me and seem'd much dissatisfyed that they were disappointed, tho' they said nothing to me Concerning it.

"The Cheapwas desired I wou'd hear them to-morrow.

"The 6th they Assembled and their Chief spoke as follows.

"'Brother, We are very well satisfyed to see you here, and are Convinced you are come to see us on a Good design; and if you shou'd hear any bad reports Concerning us we desire you will not Credit them.

"'We have delivered up all the Prisoners that we had of the English;

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and we desire you will acquaint Sir William Johnson that we are a Poor People and we hope he will pity us.

"'And to assure you all we have said is true we give you this Bunch of Wampum.'

"Gave a Bunch. I was informed by my Interpreter that the Cheapwas expected a Present from me, and was much dissatisfyed at their being disappointed. Notwithstanding, they said nothing to me Concerning it.

"The 7th, Set out for the Bay [Green Bay], where I arrived after a very Disagreeable Passage of 17 Days. I could not have a meeting with the Indians here untill the 25th, as their Chiefs were mostly gone to an Indian Village to hold a Council on Accot. of the Man of their Nation that was Kill'd at Michilimackinac.

"The 25th, All the Indians of the Sax Nation that were at the Fort assembled, and after I made them acquainted with my Instructions, Confirming what I said with a Belt of Wampum, One of their Chiefs spoke as follows:

"'Brother, I, in behalf of my Nation, Return you my Sincere thanks for the Accounts you have brought us. We are also greatly obliged to Sir William Johnson for taking so much care as to send you to let Us Know what the General had done respecting us. We are Extremely well pleased with every thing you have said. We are thoroughly Convinced the Prohibition of Spirituous Liquors was done for our good, from the bad effects attending the use of it long ago. We desire you will request Sir William Johnson to send a Smith to this Fort to mend our guns and Tomhawks, etc., as we are greatly Straitned many times to support our families, Occasioned by our Guns being out of Repair; which obliges us to come here with our Women and Children to beg some Provisions from our Brother. You will also let him know we are a Poor People and it 's very likely we shall be obliged to take part in the quarrel that subsists between the Meynomenys here and the Cheapwas at Michilimackinac. This will prevent our hunting for furrs to Purchase Cloathes for our Women and Children. Therefore, we hope Sir William Johnson will Consider us and send us some Necessaries to Keep our Women and Children from the cold. Your coming here plainly convinces us the Commanding officer here was sincere in every thing he told us, And you may Assure your self that we will do every thing in our Power to serve the English.'

"The same day I made the Reynard Nation Acquainted with my Instructions and gave them a Belt of Wampum.

"Their Answer was the same with the Sax Nation.

"The 26th, I delivered the same Message to the Meynomeneys that I had done to the Sax and Reynard Nations, and gave them a Belt of Wampum

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"Their Answer was the same with the other two Nations, only added, that it was very probable they would strike the Cheapwas in Revenge for the Man of their Nation that was lately Kill'd at Michilimackinac, but asured me that if any of the English should have occasion to come amongst them they should Pass and Repass immolested.

"I was informed by my Interpreter that the Sax, Reynard, & Meynomeny Nations all expected a Present from me and were a good deal displeased at their being disappointed.

"After my Business was over with the Meynomenies, I desired they would send a Careful Indian with me as a Guide to St. Joseph's. Their Chief assured me that at that time they could not Spare any, as they expected in a few days to send off a Party to War against the Cheapwas, and added, as their Indians along the way I had to go was informed that the English had Countinanced the Killing of one of their People in the Fort Michilimackinac, that it was more than Probable they wou'd do me an Injury, and advised me to Return to Michilimackinac, and go from there to St. Joseph's; which I did.

"The 28th of June, Set out from the Bay and Return'd to Michilimackinac the 7th of July, where I was detained for want of a Passage untill the 11th, I then set out, and arrived at St. Joseph's [near the present Niles, Michigan] the 6th of August.

"The 7th, Assembled the Poutawantamies and made them acquainted with my Instructions and gave them a Belt of Wampum.

"The 8th, They expressed great uneasiness that Rum was not allowed them as usual, and desired that as their whole Nation was afflicted with Sickness, which Rendered them uncapable of hunting, that Sir William Johnson wou'd send them some few Presents to Keep their Women and Children from the Cold. And further said were greatly Surprised that I had not a Present for them.

"They gave a string of Wampum.

"The 9th, Set out for the Fort at the Miamie [at the site of which is now Fort Wayne, Ind.], where I arrived the 12th.

"The 13th had a meeting with the Mineamie Indians and acquainted them with my Business.

"Gave them a Belt of Wampum.

"I then told them I had some Business at the Ouiatanon & on my Return wou'd hear what they had to say.

"The 14th, Set out for the Ouiatanon [on the Wabash, about four miles below the present Lafayette, Ind.], and arrived there the 18th.

"The 19th, Had a meeting with the following Indians, Vizt., Ouiatanons, Kickaupooze, Musquetons, and Pyankishawes, who I made acquainted with my Instructions and gave each nation a Belt of Wampum.

"They then desired I wou'd here them tomorrow.

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"The 20th, The above Indians met, and the Ouiatanon Chief spoke in behalf of his and the Kickaupoo Nations as follows:

"'Brother, We are very thankful to Sir William Johnson for sending you to enquire into the State of the Indians. We assure you we are Rendered very miserable at Present on Account of a Severe Sickness that has seiz'd almost all our People, many of which have died lately, and many more likely to Die. However, this we don't grumble at; it was God that put us upon the Earth and when he pleases to take us away we must be satisfy'd. But what we think hardest of is, that the English have never so much as given us the least Present or even allowed a Smith to be at this Post to mend our Guns, etc. We know very well that other Indian Nations have had Presents given them at two or three different times, and a Smith allowed to mend their Guns. What those Indians have done to get themselves in so great favor with the English we have never heard; but this we are sure of, that we are ready on all Occasions, to serve our Brethren, the English, and will advise our young Men to behave well.

"'If we were to go to the French at the Illinois, they wou'd give us some Ammunition at least; but our Brother here has Desired us to have as little dealing with them as Possible. You see, we mind what he says, as none of our People has offered to go near the French since the English came here.

"'We desire you will acquaint Sir William Johnson with all we have said to you, and we hope he will allow a Smith at this Post, and also send some Presents for our Women and Children.

"'As for English Prisoners, we have not any remaining amongst our Nations. And to assure you all I have said is true I give you this Wampum & Council Pipe.'

"The 21st, Detain'd here on Account of my Horse being Stole by the Indians.

"The 22nd, Set out for the Mineamie and arrived there the 26th.

"The 27th, The Mineamie Indians Assembled and desired that I would request of Mr. Croghan to send them a Smith to mend their Guns and Tomhawks, and also to allow them some Presents, as their People were mostly Sick.

"Gave a String of Wampum.

"The Officer at this Post assured me that it was almost impossible to keep friendship with the Indians without allowing them some Presents, and that they were Extremely uneasy that a Smith was not allowed them.

"The 28th & 29th, Detained here on account of wet weather.

"The 30th, Set out for the Lower Shawneese Town[1] and arriv'd

[1] This town was then on both banks of the Scioto at and opposite the site of the later village of Westfall, Pickaway County, Ohio, four miles below Circleville. See Hutchins's map of 1764.

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their the 8th of September in the afternoon. [I could not have a meeting with the Shawneese untill the 12th, as their People were Sick and Dying every day.

"The 12th, I made them acquainted with my Instructions, and gave them a Belt of Wampum.

"They gave me for Answer that, as their Chiefs were gone to a Council with the English in the Inhabitants, they could not Transact any Business in their Absence; that they expected them to arrive in a few days, and as soon as they came they would send an answer to my Speech to Mr. Croghan.

"Gave some Wampum.

"The 13th, Set out for Fort Pitt and arrived there the 24th of Sept., 1762.

"The —— Relation of what has Pass'd between the Indians inhabiting near the Distant Posts and me; And notwithstanding the Manner they have expressed themselves in —— Speeches, I found in private conversation with them that they were not so well —— as I could have wished, as they were disappointed in their Expectations of my having Presents for them; and as the French has always Accustomed themselves, both in time of Peace and during the late War, to make these People great Presents, three or four times a year, and always allowed them a Sufficient Quantity of Ammunition at the Posts, they think it very strange that this Custom should be so immediately broke off by the English, and the Traders not allowed even to take so much Ammunition with them as to enable those Indians to Kill game sufficient for the support of their families.

'And notwithstanding the Officers of the Different Posts has been obliged to give those Indians some Presents, as it would be impossible to Keep friendship with them without, they nevertheless look on those Presents as mere trifles, and are in great Expectation of having Presents sent them from Sir William Johnson. And I see it is with the greatest difficultv that the Officers can keep them in a good Temper.

"I am Sir, Your Humble Servt.

"Tho. Hutchins.

"To Geo. Croghan, Esqr.

"N.B. The Chief of the Musquetons spoke in behalf of their and the Pyankishaw Nations to the same Effect that the Ouitanons had done, Confirming what they said by giving . . . some wampum & a Council Pipe."

Late in the spring of 1763, nearly all the Western Indians, with the Senecas, rose against the English posts on the Lakes, the Allegheny, the Maumee, and the Wabash, killed or captured most of the garrisons,

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and seized nearly all the Traders between Fort Pitt and Detroit, as well as those at the Delaware and Shawnee towns on the Muskingum and Scioto; putting most of them to death.

At this time the Pennsylvania Traders were scattered in large numbers all over the Ohio country. Nearly one hundred of them were killed or taken by the hostile Indians. The earliest details of these tragic occurrences which reached the English were brought to Fort Pitt, at the end of May. That Post was then in a state of siege, the garrison being under command of Captain Simon Ecuyer. The Commandant's *Journal* gives us the following details of the Traders' fate:

"May 30th. All the inhabitants moved into the Fort [from the village]. About 4 o'clock one, Coulson [written Daniel Collet in Ecuyer's letter to Bouquet, May 30th], came in, who had been a prisoner [at the] Shawnese Town, and gave the following account: 'We came to the Town, with some Traders, where an Indian arrived from the Lakes [with a] Belt, to acquaint the Delawares that Detroit was taken, the Post at Sandusky burned, and all the garrison put to death, except the officer, whom they made prisoner. Upon this news, the Beaver and Shingess came and acquainted Mr. [Thomas] Calhoon [a Trader] with it, and desired him to move away from there as quickly as possible, with all his property; and that they sent three Indians to conduct him and the rest of the white people to this Post; and yesterday, as they were crossing Beaver Creek, they were fired on, and he believes all were killed except himself.'

"31st. Two of Mr. Calhoon's men came in and confirmed the above account. A second express was depatched this night to the General.

"June 1st. About six o'clock in the afternoon Mr. Calhoon came in, and brought the following account, which he took in writing from the Indians at Tuskarawas:

"'Tuskarawas, May 27, 1763, 11 o'clock at night. King Beaver, with Shingess, Windohala, Wingenum, and Daniel, and William Anderson came and delivered me the following intelligence (by a string of wampum):

"'Brother—Out of regard to you, and the friendship that formerly subsisted between [our] grandfathers and the English, which has been lately renewed by us, we come to inform you of the news we had heard, which you may depend upon as true.

"'Brother—All the English that were at Detroit were killed ten days ago; not one left alive.

"'At Sandusky, all the white people there were killed five days ago, nineteen in number, except the officer, who is a prisoner, and one boy who made his escape, whom we have not heard of.

"'At the mouth of the Twigtwee [Maumee] River (about eighty miles

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from Sandusky by water), Hugh Crawford with one boy was taken prisoner and six men killed.

"'At the Salt Licks [on the Mahoning] five days ago, five white men were killed. We received the account this day.

"'We have seen a number of tracks on the Road between this and Sandusky, not far off, which we are sure is a party come to cut you and your people off; but as we have sent a man to watch their motions, request you may think of nothing you have here, but make the best of your way to some place of safety; as we would not desire to see you killed in our Town. Be careful to avoid the Road, and every part where Indians resort.

"'Brother—What goods and other effects you have here, you need not be uneasy about them. We assure you that we will take care to keep them safe for six months. Perhaps by that time we may see you, or send you word what you may expect of us.

"'We know there is one white man at Gichauga [Cuyahoga]; don't be concerned for him; we will take care to send him safe home. . . .'

"The following is what Mr. Calhoon learned on his journey, from one of these three Indians who were sent [to conduct him] safe there, viz., Daniel, before mentioned as one of their chiefs: That Detroit was not really taken, but had been attacked by the Indians four days before the messenger who brought the account left it; which Mr. Calhoon imagines must have been from about the 13th to the 17th of May; and that the Indians had not then met with much success, but strongly persisted in carrying on the attack, and said they were determined not to give over till they took it; and that the English had sent out three belts of wampum, and the French two, desiring them to desist, which they refused.

"Mr. Calhoon says that when he and his people left Tuskerawas, fourteen in number, the Indians refused to let them bring their arms, telling them that the three Indians who were going along with them were sufficient to conduct them safe; and that, the next day, passing Beaver Creek, they were fired upon by a party of Indians; when their guides immediately disappeared, without interfering for them; and he is convinced that they were led by their guides to this party knowingly, in order to be cut off; from which himself with three of his people only have escaped.

"Mr. Calhoon further says that, having lost his way and falling in upon the Road leading to Venango, [located] about seventy miles above this Post, he saw a number of Indian tracks which had gone that way. Two men were sent to the General with the intelligence received. . . .

"16th. Four Shawnees appeared on the opposite side of the Ohio, and desired Mr. McKee would go over and speak to them; which he did; and they made him the following Speech: 'Brother—We received

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the message you sent us on the death of Colonel Clapham, and our chiefs desired us to inform you that they will take care of the Traders in our towns. Mr. [John] Baird and [John] Gibson were taken by the Delaware Indian called Sir William Johnson [White Eyes[1]] and his people at the Muskingum Town, and carried to our Town. Our chiefs say they will take care of them until the War is over.'"

John McCullough, who was carried off by the Delaware Indians from Conococheague Creek when eight years old (in 1756), has left us some additional information about the adventures of Thomas Calhoun and his party at Tuscarawas and Beaver Creek; and he has also given an account, as an eye-witness, of the murder of the Traders at the Mahoning Town, as follows:

"We lived about two years and a half in Shenango [on Beaver Creek]. We then moved to where they were settling a new Town, called *Kseek-he-oong*, that is, 'a place of salt'; a place now well known by the name of Salt Licks, on the west branch of Beaver; where we lived about one year. We moved there about the time that General Forbes took Fort Dusquesne from the French. . . . The next Spring, we moved to a town about fifteen miles off, called *Mo-hon-ing*, which signifies 'a lick.' Sometime in the summer following [1762] my father came to *Mo-hon-ing* and found me out. I was shy in speaking to him, even with an interpreter, as I had at that time forgot my mother tongue. My Indian brother not being at home, my father returned to Pittsburgh and left me.[2]

"We lived about a mile out of Mohoning. There were some Traders at *Kseek-he-oong*, or Salt Licks, early in the Spring [of 1763]. A nephew of my adopted [Delaware Indian] brother's had stole a horse from one, Tom Green, a Trader; he pursued the thief to Mohoning. He was gone out a trapping when Green came after him. Green waited three days on the Indian's return with the horse.

"The third night, about midnight, there came an alarm, which was notified by hallooing *Qua-ah!*, still repeating, four halloos at a time, at certain intervals. When we heard the alarm, my oldest [adopted] brother went off to the Town, to see what was the matter. In about two hours he returned. Green asked him what was the matter. He told him it was some foolish young fellows that had done it for diversion. Green did not seem to be satisfied with the answer.

"However, about sunrise, *Mus-sough-whese* (an Indian, my adopted

[1] *Penna. Col. Rec.*, viii., 618.

[2] A description of James McCullough's children, prisoners among the Indians, was written out at Fort Pitt June 3, 1761. Edward St. Leger, a Trader, wrote Bouquet from Salt Lick June 22, 1762, saying that he had done his best to assist McCullough to recover his son from the Indians, but to no purpose. Bouquet Papers, *Can. Arch.*, 1889, 208, 326.

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brother's nephew, known by the name of Ben Dickson among the white people) came to our house. He had a pistol and a large scalping knife concealed under his blanket, belted around his body. He informed *Ket-tooh-ha-lend* (for that was my adopted brother's name) that he came to kill Tom Green. But *Ket-tooh-ha-lend* endeavored to persuade him off it.

"They walked out together, and Green followed them, endeavoring, as I suppose, to discover the cause of the alarm the night before. In a short time they returned to the house, and immediately went out again.

"Green asked me to bring him his horse, as he heard the bell a short distance off. He then went after the Indians again, and I went for the horse. As I was returning, I observed them coming out of a house, about two hundred yards from ours. *Ket-tooh-ha-lend* was foremost, Green in the middle.

"I took but slight notice of them, until I heard the report of a pistol. I cast my eyes towards them and observed the smoke, and saw Green standing on the side of the path, with his hands across his breast. I thought it had been him that had shot. He stood a few moments, then fell on his face across the path.

"I instantly got off the horse, and held him by the bridle. *Ket-tooh-ha-lend* sunk his pipe tomahawk into his skull. *Mus-sough-whese* stabbed him under the armpit with his scalping knife. He had shot him between the shoulders with his pistol. The squaws gathered about him and stripped him naked, trailed him down the bank, and plunged him in the Creek. There was a fresh in the Creek at the time, which carried him off.

"*Mus-sough-whese* then came to me (where I was holding the horse; as I had not moved from the spot where I was when Green was shot), with the bloody knife in his hand. He told me that he was coming to kill me next. He reached out his hand and took hold of the bridle, telling me that that was his horse. I was glad to parley with him on the terms, and delivered the horse to him.

"All the Indians in the Town immediately collected together, and started off to the Salt Licks, where the rest of the Traders were, and murdered the whole of them, and divided their goods amongst them, and likewise their horses.

"My adopted brother took two horse loads of beaver-skin and set off with them to *Tus-ca-law-ways* [Tuscarawas], where a number of Traders resided, and sold the fur to them. There happened to be an old Indian [there], who was known amongst the Traders by the name of Daniel. He cautioned the Traders not to purchase the fur from him, assuring them that he had murdered some Traders; to convince them, he showed them that the skins were marked with so many different marks, which

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convinced him in his opinion. However, either through fear or some other motive, they exchanged goods for the fur.

"The same evening, old Daniel offered his service to them, assuring them that he would endeavor to conduct them safe into Pittsburgh; adding, that if they would not take his advice they would be all murdered by day-light the next morning.

"They took his advice, and as they lived about a mile out of Town they had an opportunity of going away without being discovered. They started shortly after dark, as was conjectured by the Indians, leaving all their merchandise behind them; how many there were of them I do not recollect of hearing.

"However, as I heard, they went on safe until they got to *Ksack-hoong* [Sauconk], an old Indian Town at the confluence of the Beaver and Ohio, where they came to an Indian camp unawares. Probably the Indians had discovered them before they reached the camp, as they were ready for them. As soon as they made their appearance, the Indians fired on them. The whole of them fell excepting old Daniel and one [Thomas] Calhoon [and three of his men], who made his escape into Pittsburg. Old Daniel had a bullet shot into his saddle, close behind him, the mark of which I frequently saw, after he made his escape back to his friends."

The following extracts from the *Journal* of the Siege of Detroit in 1763, kept by the Commandant's Secretary, shows what happened to Hugh Crawford, the Trader, who, according to Thomas Calhoun's account, was captured near the mouth of the Twightwee or Maumee River:

May 19, 1763. This evening, a man that was taken prisoner six days ago by some Ottawas and Mingoes, in the Huron River, arrived here, by the assistance of two or three Frenchmen that were coming down that River. He informed us that he was hired with one [Hugh] Crawford, a Trader, who was on his way home; that about fifteen Indians met with them, and laid down their arms, and called them Brothers; but after having reconnoitred them, and finding they had a great quantity of peltry, fell upon them and took them all prisoners; and obliged them to return with them to a carrying place on a small river that runs into the Miami [Maumee]; from whence he made his escape, as the Indians took him for a Frenchman, he speaking a little French. . . .

July 2d. At three o'clock this morning, Lieut. McDougall, with an Albany Trader, arrived at the Fort, having made their escape from the Indians. About half an hour afterwards, another prisoner arrived at the Schooner, that made his escape from the Hurons, who had been taken with one [Hugh] Crawford, a Trader, sometime ago. . . .

July 12th. This morning the Puttawattamees came again, with Mr. [Abraham] Chapman, one [Hugh] Crawford, and another prisoner of Capt. Hopkins's Company and promised to bring the rest as soon as they arrived. Accordingly, at four in the afternoon, they came, with

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four Royal Americans, two of the Rangers, and one of Mr. Crawford's men.

Hugh Crawford was one of the most noted of the Scotch-Irish Traders of Pennsylvania, a contemporary and neighbor at Fort Pitt of John Finley, at times trading for George Croghan or Thomas Smallman, and at times on his own account. He was Indian interpreter with Mason and Dixon from July 16 to November 5, 1767, when they ran part of the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland. In Charles Mason's *Journal* of this survey, preserved in the Library of Congress, he gives a very full and interesting topographical "description of the Ohio and Mississippi, as described to me by Mr. Hugh Crawford, our Interpreter, who has traversed these parts for twenty-eight years [that is, since 1739], either as an Indian Trader or Commander in his Majesty's Service in the late War." From Crawford's description of New Orleans, it is apparent he had been there. He was an unlicensed Trader in 1747; licensed in 1748. He was at Pickawillany in the Winter of 1749–50 and at the end of May, 1750; met by Gist in Kentucky, below the mouth of the Scioto in March, 1751; and was at the Lower Shawnee Town in January, 1752. In 1753 or 1754 he took up land on the Juniata, at the mouth of Standing Stone Creek, the site of the present city of Huntingdon. This he afterwards conveyed (1760) to George Croghan, who, in 1768, sold it to Dr. William Smith, of Philadelphia, who laid out the town of Huntingdon. In 1756 Crawford was a Lieutenant in Captain James Patterson's Company of Col. Weiser's Battalion of Pennsylvania Militia. Thomas Smallman was an ensign in the same Company; all three of these officers being former Indian Traders. Crawford was Ensign in Captain Hance Hamilton's Company of Militia in Forbes's campaign of 1758, and was at Stony Creek and Fort Bedford in February, March, and April, 1759.

In an enumeration made for Colonel Bouquet at Fort Pitt July 22, 1760, of the people (mostly Indian Traders and their families) living in the village there and not belonging to the army (printed above), the name of Hugh Crawford appears, together with that of a woman, Judah (Judith) Crawford, who may have been his wife. A similar enumeration was made April 14, 1761, in which Hugh Crawford is mentioned as the owner of a house in the Lower Town, in which were then living eight men and two women; while Eleanor Crawford and another woman occupied a house in the Upper Town.

After the conclusion of peace with Pontiac, Hugh Crawford was sent by George Croghan to Detroit, in 1766, and instructed to conduct Pontiac and other Western chiefs to Oswego, for the purpose of holding a conference with Sir William Johnson. Crawford accomplished this

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mission in the Summer of that year, and was commended for his good management.

For his services in acting as Interpreter for Mason and Dixon during the survey of the Pennsylvania–Maryland boundary line in 1767, he received a "grant of preference" from Governor John Penn, in January, 1768, for 500 acres of land. It was known as Crawford's Sleeping Place, on the Youghiogheny River, "twenty miles above Fort Pitt," and Veech says it was one of the Gist tracts, in the present County of Fayette. Crawford died in 1770. His estate was administered in August of that year, in Cumberland County. One daughter is mentioned in the proceedings, but her name is not given.

Crawford probably spent the winter of 1762–63 along the Wabash, trading with the Twightwees and Weas (or Ouiatanons) at the Miami and Ouiatanon Forts.

Lieutenant Edward Jenkins, Commandant of the Fort at Ouiatanon, wrote Major Gladwin, who commanded at Detroit, March 28, 1763: "Mr. Crawford acquainted me this morning that the Canadians that are here are eternally telling lies to the Indians, and tells me likewise that the Interpreter and one, La Pointe, told the Indians a few days ago that we [the English] should all be prisoners in a short time (showing them when the corn was about a foot high)."

The following document, from the Johnson Papers, gives a little additional information in regard to Hugh Crawford's capture by the Indians in 1763, and shows that he was then in the employ of Thomas Smallman, who, it will be remembered, was also taken prisoner and carried to the Shawnee Towns:

Hugh Crawford's Account of Losses Sustained from the Indians in 1763 by Major Thomas Smallman, Cumberland Co., Pennsylvania, March 31, 1766:

An account of Losses sustained by Major Thomas Smallman by the breaking out of the Indian War in 1763, and the Indians seizing the Effects he had in their Country, and making himself Prisoner, viz., Goods & Peltrys, &ca., in the hands of Mr. Hugh Crawford, taken by the Indians 4 May, 1763:

15 Packs of Beaver, 1,500 lbs., at 6/., £450.
44 Packs of Parchment and dressed Leather, 4,400 lbs., at 2/. p. lb., £440.
22 Packs of Deer Skins in the Hair, 2,200 lbs., at ⅙ p. lb., £165.
2,800 Raccoons, at 2/., £280.
100 Catts and Foxes, at 2/6, £12, 10/.
128 Otters, at 10/., £64.
11 Horses, with Sadles and Bitts, at £9, £99.
3 Cannoes, £45.
1 Batteau, £30.
A number of small of furs, I don't remember the quantity.

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The Goods [Traders' goods] remaining on hands, about £1,500.
Above half the Goods remaining at the time they seized the Goods and made me Prisoner.
Total, £3,085, 10/.

Cumberland County, ss.:
This day personally appeared, before me, Saml. Perry, Esqr., of Shippensbg., one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Cumberland, Hugh Crawford, who, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, made oath, that the within Account of the goods, peltrys, and other effects, amounting to Three Thousand and Eighty-five Pounds, Ten Shillings, which were in his hands, belonging to Major Thomas Smallman, at the time of the breaking out of the Indian [War], in May, 1763, and which the Indians seized and at the same time made him, this Deponent, a Prisoner, is as just and true an Account as he can make, the Indians having seized and destroyed all his books and papers, and further this Deponent saith not.

HUGH CRAWFORD.

Sworn before me at ——, this 31 day of March, 1766.

SAM. PERRY.

Another somewhat doubtful account referring to the destruction of a trading party by the Indians on the Huron River, is the following, which is given by the Moravian historian, Loskiel (1788):

In the late Indian War, about the year 1763, there being a general appearance of peace, a numerous body of Traders ventured to go with a great quantity of goods into the country of the Hurons. The latter heard of it, and sent a party of warriors to meet them; but perceiving that the Traders were too powerful for them, they had recourse to the following stratagem: They told the Traders that, the war having broken out afresh, a large body of warriors had set out to kill and plunder them; but that they, moved with compassion, came with all haste to prevent it, and to point out a mode by which they might escape with their lives, viz., that they should suffer themselves to be bound and kept by them as prisoners. When, afterwards, the other troop, whom they declared to be very near at hand, should come and see that they were prisoners, they would do them no harm. Then they would escort them with safety to their villages, and not suffer them to lose any of their goods.

The Traders foolishly believed them. They suffered themselves to be bound, and even assisted in binding each other; but no sooner had they done this than they were all murdered by their pretended friends. The Hurons enriched themselves with the spoil, and boasted everywhere of their address in deceiving the white people.

On June 11, 1763, James Sterling and Samson Fleming, two Traders at Detroit, made a *Declaration* before Cæsar Cormick, another Trader, of some intelligence they had received from a certain person whose name is not given, relating to the capture of John Welch and four or more other Traders at the mouth of the Miamis (Maumee) River. This may have

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been the party to which Loskiel's relation referred. The Declaration was in part as follows:

The said person has declared before us, that Miny Chain, Jacque Godfroy, and Messrs. Beauban, Chavin, and Labadee [probably all French Traders], went from here the 12th or 13th ultimo, being the third or fourth day of the siege, publickly, as they pretended, for an officer from the Illinois to disperse the Nations; and in this way they met John Welch, merchant from Miamis, in the mouth of the Miamis River, with two Perriagus loaded with peltry, bound for this place.

The said five Frenchmen ordered a band of Indians who were with them, to hide themselves in the woods close by, until they would entice the English ashore. Then, hailing them to come and smoke a pipe, and get the news, they came ashore and sate down. The said Frenchmen then seized, and told them they were their prisoners; and calling up the Indians, they divided the prisoners and peltry betwixt them.

Then the said Chain and Godfroy detached the other three companions back to Detroit, with their share of the booty, and Mr. Welch prisoner; who came and lodged the same in the house of the aforesaid Miny Chain, next in the settlement to the Potewatamis' Village; that the Outawas, claiming Mr. Welch, seized and murdered him since[1]; and that the said Outawas came this day, seized and carried off the said peltry, and told them that the French had no business with any plunder, but that it belonged entirely to the Indians.

The said informer likewise declared that the said Chain and Godfroy took also four of the said prisoners along with them, saying that they would take them to the Illinois and make soup of them, to spirit up the Indians to war, and come against the English; which they now daily expect here. And that the said Chain and Godfroy, proceeding with the same Indians to Miamis, with whom they acted in conjunction to destroy that garrison. Then parted for Ouitanon, intending to act the same barbarous part there; being in their way to Illinois.

In the extract from the *Diary of the Siege of Detroit*, printed on a former page, it is stated, under date of July 12th, that the Pottawattomies delivered Abraham Chapman with Hugh Crawford and other prisoners at the fort on that day. Some account of Chapman's adventures, which may or may not be true, is given by Heckewelder in his *Indian Nations*. The account reads as follows:

About the commencement of the Indian War of 1763, a trading Jew, named Chapman, who was going up the Detroit River with a batteau-load of goods which he had brought from Albany, was taken by some Indians of the Chippeway nation, and destined to be put to death. A Frenchman, impelled by motives of friendship and humanity, found means to steal the prisoner, and kept him so concealed for some time, that, although the most diligent search was made, the place of his

[1] Before being killed, Welch was first carried towards the Miami Fort, and used by the French and Indians as an unwilling herald, to announce to the besieged garrison there that their lives would be spared if they gave up the fort.

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confinement could not be discovered. At last, however, the unfortunate man was betrayed by some false friend, and again fell into the power of the Indians, who took him across the River to be burned and tortured. Tied to the stake and the fire burning by his side, his thirst, from the great heat, became intolerable, and he begged that some drink might be given to him. It is a custom with the Indians, previous to a prisoner being put to death, to give him what they call his last meal. A bowl of pottage or broth was therefore brought to him for that purpose. Eager to quench his thirst, he put the bowl immediately to his lips, and the liquor being very hot, he was dreadfully scalded. Being a man of very quick temper, the moment he felt his mouth burned, he threw the bowl with its contents full in the face of the man who handed it to him. "He is mad! He is mad!" resounded from all quarters. The bystanders considered his conduct as an act of insanity, and immediately untied the cords with which he was bound, and let him go where he pleased.

The Trader who had the most exciting adventures and marvellous escapes in the direction of Detroit was a Jerseyman, named Alexander Henry, whose *Narrative* was published at New York in 1809. As his experiences have been very fully described by Parkman, in the *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, they will not be repeated here. "Of the English Traders that fell into the hands of the Indians," Henry writes, "at the capture of the Fort [Michillimackinac], Mr. Tracy was the only one who lost his life. Mr. Ezekiel Solomons and Mr. Henry Bostwick were taken by the Ottawas, and after the peace, carried down to Montreal, and there ransomed."

On the 13th of July, 1763, Bouquet wrote Governor Hamilton from Carlisle that the list of killed within from sixteen to forty miles of that town, was nineteen, and increasing every hour; that the desolation and distress form a scene of horror impossible to describe; that the whole country is abandoned west of Carlisle, with the harvest and cattle; that when he sent suggestions to prevent the ruin of the country, he little expected to see it so soon, nor that the Assembly would pay no regard to his representations; the few troops voted (700) cannot be raised in time, nor can they save the people and harvest; that requires united action; he himself is marching to the relief of Fort Pitt.

Escorted by the shattered remnant of the Royal Highlanders of the 42d or "Black Watch" regiment, and a smaller number from the 77th, "lately returned in a dismal condition from the West Indies," about 460 men with their officers, Bouquet reached Fort Bedford on the 25th of July, and Fort Ligonier on August 2d. He left thirty men at each post. Three days later, his advance guard was attacked at Edge Hill, and on August 6th, he fought the battle of Bushy Run, putting the combined forces of the Senecas, Delawares, and Shawnees to rout. Bouquet's losses were fifty killed and sixty wounded. He reached Fort Pitt on the 10th of August.

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In the Bouquet Papers is a document made up at Fort Pitt, probably by Alexander McKee, and bearing date September 5, 1763, a few weeks after that Post had been relieved by Bouquet. This paper is headed "A List of Traders' Names, and their Servants, Killed and Taken, and their Losses by the present Indian War." A sub-heading recites that the List is of "Indian Traders' Names that were out a Trading on this side D'Troit; Where Trading; Where Killed and Taken; Servants, where Killed and Taken; Traders Escaped; Servants Escaped; and Loss of the Whole." The "Computed Loss" was £45,000. There were sixteen of the Traders, and eighty-eight of their employes or servants killed or taken. Two Traders and three servants escaped. At the foot of the list is written the following note: "N.B. These were all Traders from Pennsylvania, except Levy Solomon; and in the Indian Country between this and Fort D'Troit, where ye massacre began (except Jno. Ormsby); and none escaped being killed and taken except the two Traders [Hugh Crawford and Andrew Wilkey] and three men mentioned here. We hear from Fort D'Troit that Levy Solomon and H. Crawford, with three of his men, made their escape and got into D'Troit after remaining prisoners with ye Indians some time. I am positive there were some more servants, that I have not been able to get an account of." The following are the names of the Traders on this list, and their fate:

Michael Teaff, trading to Miames; killed or taken at Chunondat, Wayondat Town; servants killed and taken, seven, near Sandusky.

John Welch, trading to Miames; killed or taken at Sandusky; servants killed and taken, six, at Beaver Creek, Miame River, and near Sandusky.

Hugh Crawford, trading to Miames; killed or taken at Miame [Maumee] River; servants killed or taken, six, at Miame River.

Thomas Smallman, trading to D'Troit; killed or taken on Lake Erie; servants killed and taken, four, at Beaver Creek, Shawnesse Town, and Lake Erie.

Robert Wilkey [Wilkins], trading to Sandusky; killed or taken at Sandusky; servants killed and taken, two, at Sandusky.

John Prentice, trading to Detroit; killed or taken at Sandusky; servants killed or taken, twenty, on the Road to Sandusky.

Levy A. Levy, trading to D'Troit; killed or taken on Lake Erie; servants killed and taken, ten, on the Road to Sandusky, on Ohio, and Lake Erie.

John Gibson, trading to Lower Shawnesse Town; killed or taken at Mouth of Beaver Creek; servants killed or taken, seven, at Shawaneese Town and on Ohio.

John Bard (or Baird), trading at Shawnesse Town; killed or taken

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at Mouth of Beaver Creek; servants killed and taken, two, at Shawnesse Town and on Ohio.

Lazarus Lowrey, [Jr.], trading at Lower Shawnese Town; killed or taken at Lower Shawnesse Town; servants killed and taken, four, at Shawnesse Town.

Matthew McCrea, trading to Salt Licks Shawnese; killed or taken at Salt Licks; servants killed and taken, four, at Shawnesse Town.

Thomas Copelen, Tuskarawas smith, killed or taken at Beaver Creek; servants killed and taken, two, at Beaver Creek. One servant escaped.

John Cammel, smith at Fort Pitt; killed or taken at Beaver Creek.

Thomas Calhoon, trading to Tuscarawas; killed or taken at Beaver Creek; servants killed and taken, four, at Beaver Creek and Gichauge [Cuyahoga]. Thomas Calhoon and two servants escaped.

John Ormsby (at Fort Pitt), trading to Salt Licks Delawares; servants killed and taken, five, at Salt Licks. [See John McCullough's *Narrative* above.]

Andrew Wilkey [Wilkins], trading to Venango. Escaped.

Thomas Mitchell, trading to Shawnesse Town; killed or taken at Shawnesse Town; servants killed and taken, three, at Shawnesse Town.

—— Hays, trading to Sandusky; killed or taken at Sandusky.

Levy Solomon (a York Trader), trading to D'Troit; killed or taken on Lake Erie.

Either before or after the foregoing list had been made up, and in the same year, a second list was prepared by George Croghan, Deputy Agent for the Indian Department, which is also found in the Bouquet Papers, endorsed, "List of Traders, 1763." This list is as follows:

Robert Calender, [trading] to Detroit; at home.
John Prentice, to Detroit; su'pec'd [suspected] killed or taken.
Thomas Smallman, to Detroit; at Detroit.
Mr. Levy, to Detroit; su'pec'd killed or taken.
John and Thomas Welsh, to Miamies; su'pec'd killed or taken.
Hugh Crawford, to Miamies; suspec'd killed or taken.
Michael Taffe, to Sandusky; su'pec'd killed or taken.
Robert Wilkey, to Sandusky; su'pec'd killed or taken.
Philip Boyle, to Sandusky; at Ligonier.
Frederick Hambough, to St. Joseph's; at St. Joseph's.
Dennis Cocheron, to La Bay; at La Bay.
Richard Winston, to Weaugh; with Mr. [Commandant] Jenkins.
Alexander Lowery, to the Shawnese; at home.
John Gibson, to the Shawnese; taken prisoner.
Allison and McCray, to the Shawnese; Allison at home; McCray out.
John Beard, to the Shawnese; taken prisoner.
Thomas Mitchell, to the Shawnese; at home.

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John Ormsby, to the Dellaways; at Fort Pitt.
Thomas Colhoon, to the Dellaways; at Fort Pitt.
Andrew Wilkey, to the Dellaways at Venango; at Fort Pitt.
Trent and Levy, to Fort Pitt; Trent at Fort Pitt.
John Hart, to Fort Pitt; at Fort Pitt.

Besides the two reports of Indian Traders killed and taken which have been printed above, there is another and larger list, giving more details of the murders, which is in the British Museum Collection of the Bouquet Papers, and is printed below. This list is not dated, but it was probably prepared in 1763 or 1764. Its terse and tragic significance is more than mere word eloquence can portray.

"A List of the Diferent Persons Killed by the Diferent Nations of Indians, Specifying the Number, Where, and by Whome Killed:"

Killed in the Lower Shaney Town, by Wapthamy, a Shaney [Shawnee]:
Lazarus Lowry.
John Quigly.
William Write.
John Edny.
Pat'k Moran.
John Pharrell.
John McCotter.
Samuel Gest.
Pat'k Quin.

Killed at the Falls of Hockhocking, by Delaway Jack:
Wm. Tunchehan.

Killed at Moouskingdom Island, by Delaway Jack:
Mark Curry.
John Graver.

Killed at Moouskingdom Island, by Tuckemy's Party:
Pat'k Neal.

Killed below ye Cannoe place:
John Piles.
William Woods.
Joseph Stroud.
One Other Hand.

Killed at ye Mouth of ye Two Creeks, by Simon Girty's[1] Elder Brother:
Antony Rorty.

Killed at ye Mouth of ye Two Creeks, by Simon Girty's Younger Brother:
Thomas Wails.

Killed at ye Mouth of ye Two [Cross] Creeks, by White Eyes' Cousin:
William Patterson.

[1] An Indian.

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Killed at ye Mouth of ye Two Creeks, by White Eyes' Brother:
One Frenchman.
Killed at Will's Town [now Duncan's Falls, Muskingum County, Ohio], by Delaway George's Son:
John Bard.
Killed at ye Mouth of Bever Creek, by White Eyes' Cousin:
John Robertson.
Pat'k Dum [Dunn?].
John Campble.
Killed in Will's Town, by the Long Spoon:
William Ives.
Killed in Waketomica:
Thos. Mitchel, Jun'r.
John Price.
James Morgan.
Edmond Matthews.
Killed at ye Salt Licks on Siota:
Matthew McCrea.
Wm. McGuire.
Killed at Geinahaga, or Salt Licks, by Capt. Johney:
Edw'd Santladger.
——— McFarolon.
Thos. Ormsby.
John Tool.
One other Man [Thomas Green ?].
Killed at Bever Creek, by the Turtle Heart:
John Calkoon.
Aaron Skyhawk.
Thos. Coplin.
Abram Hendricks.
Richard Askin.
Alex'r McCluse.
James Givens.
Alex'r Macklewean.
Jno. Diermod.
Sam'l Pearsifield.

The following document from the Johnson Manuscripts is the copy of an account presented to Sir William in 1765 by some of the Pennsylvania Traders, who had suffered losses by the Pontiac uprising:

A List of Indian Traders' Losses:—Incurred by the Robbery of the Indians in the Year 1763; In Consequence Whereof several of Those

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Traders Petitioned the Honorable Sir William Johnson, Baronet, In the Month of February, 1765, to demand a Retribution for the same, from the Six United Nations, Vizt.,

No 1	Andrew Wilkins	Baynton and Wharton Represent	£1453	19	8
2	Patrick Allison & Compy.	these Persons by their Deeds	6480	0	0
3	Patrick Allison	of Assignment	1300	0	0
4	John Welch (Represented by Saml Wharton, his Administrator)		6000	0	0
5	Philip Boyle		1567	9	3½
6	Baynton, Wharton & Compy.		4369	1	11½
7	Thomas Smallman		3085	10	0
8	John Ormsby		3561	17	7
9	Franks, Trent, Simons, and Compy.		24,780	1	8
10	Edmund Moran and Compy.		2430	7	6
11	Robert Callender		8110	0	0
12	John Gibson		3384	8	4
13	Thomas Mitchel, Senior		104	10	2
14	Richard Winston		2415	13	8
15	Thomas Mitchel's Account of Goods sent by Pat. Burns		259	1	7
16	William Trent's		4500	0	0
17	Joseph Simons and Thomas Mitchel's		3085	15	8
18	Dennis Crohon		860	0	0
19	Captain William Thompson		613	13	4
20	Mitchel, Dundass and Compy.		1408	15	1¾
21	William Edgar's Account (under Callender's)		1092	6	10
			£80,862	12	4¾

WILLIAM TRENT,
Attorney in Fact for the Indian Traders.

About the time that Bouquet defeated the Indians at Bushy Run, and raised the siege of Fort Pitt, Col. Adam Stephen, of Virginia, wrote to General Amherst, proposing a plan of attacking the Shawnee towns on the Scioto. Amherst wrote Governor Fauquier, of Virginia, enclosing a copy of his answer to Col. Stephen, dated August 31, 1763, and suggesting that the Virginia volunteers should be employed in destroying the Shawanese, for which purpose, he (Amherst) would try to spare a few men from Fort Pitt to join in the attack. He wrote Bouquet on the same day, mentioning his orders to Stephen as to his movements against the Indians, and desiring Bouquet to concert measures with Stephen to that end. Bouquet wrote in reply that the plan for attacking the Shawnese was practicable, and he thinks it should be by land; that Stephen is a man of resolution, and he has urged him by various motives to undertake the duty. Bouquet wrote again on October 24th, that Stephen can raise 1,000 men, if the question whether the Crown or the Colony is to pay the expense is settled. A few days later, the General wrote Bouquet that it was too late this season, but when the winter is

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over, he (Amherst) trusts they shall be able to put into execution a proper plan for taking vengeance on the barbarians.

General Gage wrote Bouquet on November 18th, that he had succeeded Amherst, who had sailed for England; that the Crown will pay the expense of the expedition proposed in conjunction with Col. Stephen, if Bouquet approves of it; if too late this year, it must be deferred till Spring.

Bouquet remained at Fort Pitt until the 21st of January, 1764. On his return towards New York he wrote Gage from Bedford that he was pleased to know that it is determined to punish the Delawares and Shawanese; the Senecas do not deserve milder treatment. Bouquet met Gage in New York in March, and a plan of action was agreed upon for the ensuing season. On his return to Philadelphia, Gage wrote him April 8th that all the troops from Philadelphia southward were placed under his command. Bouquet wrote Gage from Carlisle about a month later, asking what terms were to be granted the Delawares, Shawanese, Wyandots, and Mingoes, if they sued for peace; and suggested the following terms:

1. That they deliver the murderers of Col. William Clapham, and others, to be put to death.

2. That they deliver all white people, prisoners or adopted; and this must be insisted on, as the latter have been active in hostility.

3. That they renounce alliance with any Indians besides the Six Nations.

4. That they renounce in favor of the Crown all rights, etc., to the lands on the east side of the Ohio, from the head of that River *to the sea.*

5. That they do not cross that River without leave.

6. That they shall trade only at posts pointed out.

7. That they repay in skins, within seven years, the losses sustained by the Traders.

8. That they give sufficient hostages for the performance of the treaty.

Virginia disgraced Col. Stephen by failing to send the expected quota of troops to join Bouquet; but Pennsylvania raised 1,000 men; and Virginia, later, did furnish 248 more, including officers, under command of Col. Andrew Lewis. Part of the 42d and 60th regiments of Regulars were ordered to accompany the expedition. The Pennsylvania levies could not be assembled until about the first of August, and it was not until the 5th of that month, just one year from the date of the battle of Edge Hill, that the little army started on its march westward from Carlisle.

During the course of his preparations for the campaign, in the preceding Spring, the following letter was written from Philadelphia by

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Colonel Bouquet to Sir William Johnson, May 31, 1764. It gives what is probably an accurate list of the Indian Towns in Ohio at that time, south of Lake Erie:

Sir:—General Gage having been pleased to appoint me to command the troops in the Southern department and the Government of Pennsylvania having at last, yesterday, passed their Bill giving one Thousand men to act in Conjunction with his Majesty's Forces employ'd this way, I beg you will permit me to have the honor to correspond with you.

I request the favor of your sentiments concerning the opperations intended against the Ohio Indians; as I have no Certain information of the Numbers they can collect for the defence of their Country, from among themselves and their allies, nor of the Situation of their Towns and the difficulties of getting at them, but from the Imperfect accounts of our Traders.

I shall be much obliged to you to give what intelligences you have upon those heads, and your oppinion as to the number of Troops you wou'd Judge Necessary to answer the purpose of destroying their Towns without too great a Risque of being overpowered; likewise, whether you would think it more advisable to attack them by going down the River, or Marching by Land from Fort Pitt.

In the first case, I am apprehensive that from the delays of this province, We have already lost the opportunity of the high waters, and that, even supposing the Ohio to be navigable, the Muskingham or Siota would be too shallow to admit loaded Batteaus, of which we have not a sufficient Number to carry the necessary Troops; and I am informed that it would be Extreamly difficult for men and Horses to March along the Shore (Supposing the Batteaus to carry the provision) on account of the Craggy Hills, Swamps, and high Weeds. And to Build a sufficient Number of Batteaus at Pittsburg would require at least three months; besides the Risque in Case of Miscarriage to have to go back against the Stream. To go by Land with Pack Horses and cattle is Certainly slow and expensive, but the Woods at a Certain distance from the River are said to be open; no large Rivers to obstruct the March; and More facility to get at their inland Towns. From the accounts given me of the Country (in which I flatter myself you will be so good as to set me right) it appears that:

From Fort Pitt down the river to the Mouth of Muskingham is 200 Miles.

From the Mouth of Muskingham to Will's Town is 60 Miles.

From thence to Wakataunicke is 20 Miles.

From the Muskingham by Land to the Lower Shawanese Town upon the Scioto is 70 Miles; and

From the mouth of Muskingham to the Mouth of Scioto by Water, 200 Miles.

From the Mouth of Scioto by Water to the Lower Shawanese Town, 120 Miles.

By Land, from Fort Pitt to the Lower Shawanese Town, 230 Miles.

List of Delaware and Shawanese Towns over the Ohio:

N. W. from Fort Pitt:

Kiskuskus,

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Shaningo,
Pematimicy [Pymatuning],
Salt Lick,
Mahoning,
Cayahagh,
Ottawas' Town.

West from Fort Pitt, upon the Branches of Muskingham:
Tuscorauras,
Mohikon John.

S. W. from Fort Pitt, upon the Branches of Muskingham:
Mingoes' Town,
Old Hunting,
Bullett Town,
Waukataunicha,
Will's Town.

S. W. from Fort Pitt, upon Sciota:
Shawanese Salt Lake [Lick] Town,
Lower Shawanese Town.

In all 16 Towns, Besides those upon Lake Erie.

The General has acquainted me that you would procure a Body of Indians to Join me, and it is upon that I must Chiefly depend for guides or pilots, and as I am not sufficiently acquainted with the manner of Managing them, I beg you will appoint to command them a Person who can take the Care upon himself; and as it is very difficult to transport Provisions so far by Land, to let me know whether they will be satisfied at the Rate of the common allowance of a Ration per day, or if they must have more; and if they will expect Presents from me, and what they should be; or only from you at their Return; and if they can run their own Batt, to fit their own Bores, that I may be prepared accordingly, and avoid giving them any Cause of Complaint.

To prevent accident, you will no doubt fix upon some Badge to be worn by our friend Indians, easy to be distinguished in the Woods and which the enemy cannot imitate.

In 1758 We gave the Cherokees a yellow piece of Stuff to tie about their Heads, the End flying loose behind them.

I shall inform you when we shall be ready to march, but it will require at least five Weeks from this day before any Provincial Troops can quit the Settlement.

On the 12th of June, Governor Penn and the Provincial Commissioners for Indian Affairs in Pennsylvania, agreed to offer rewards for Indian prisoners, if taken alive, or for their scalps, if dead. Accordingly, a bounty was promised, of 150 Spanish dollars, for every male enemy Indian prisoner above the age of ten years, and 134 pieces of eight for every female prisoner or for every male child; for every male Indian's scalp, 134 pieces of eight were offered, and for every female scalp, 50 pieces.

Alexander Lowrey was made chief guide of the expedition, and Thomas Mitchell, Samuel Brown, and Andrew Boggs, were also appointed as guides.

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Another of Bouquet's guides and interpreters on this expedition, was a notorious villain named David Owens, son of John Owens, a former Indian Trader. He appeared in Philadelphia in the latter part of April, and Governor Penn gave him a pass, instructing all persons within the Province to permit him "to proceed immediately to Lancaster and Carlisle, with a letter to Colonel Bouquet, on his Majesty's Service," as the Governor had directed him. In reply to an inquiry made of Sir William Johnson in regard to Owens's history, the baronet wrote Governor Penn, June 18th:

David Owens was a Corporal in Captn. McClean's Company, and lay once in garrison at my house. He deserted several times, as I am informed, and went to live among the Delawares and Shawanese, with whose language he was acquainted, his father [John Owens] having been long a Trader amongst them.

The circumstances relating to his leaving the Indians have been told me by several Indians:—that he went out a hunting with his Indian wife and several of her relations, most of whom, with his wife, he killed and scalped as they slept. As he was always much attached to Indians, I fancy he began to fear he was unsafe amongst them, and killed them rather to make his peace with the English than from any dislike either to them or their principles.

The letter which Owens carried to Bouquet was from Governor Penn, introducing him as a man who was not much to be trusted. Penn wrote a second letter to Bouquet on the same day (April 26th) to say that "Owens takes five scalps with him, of which he will tell his own story." Owens's farther history is related in the *Narrative* of Robert Robison, published at Carlisle by Loudon in 1811:

At this time, Bouquet went down the Ohio seventy-five miles below Fort Pitt, and sent one, David Owens, who had been married to an Indian woman, and had by her three children, when, taking a thought that he would advance himself, killed and scalped his wife and children, and brought their scalps to Philadelphia. He received no reward, only was made ambassador between General Bouquet and the Indians.

When Owens was sent to let the Indians know they might have peace, they made a prisoner of him, for the murder he had committed; two of his wife's brothers being there. Owens gave them to know, if they killed him they would never get peace.

The Indians held Council three days upon him. They then let him go, and came up themselves, agreeable to the invitation which was sent to them; and agreed to give up the prisoners. So ended that campaign.

Bouquet marched from Fort Pitt with his army on October 3d, and on the 25th, made his sixteenth and final encampment within one mile of the Forks of Muskingum. By the 9th of November, 206 white prisoners were delivered up by the Indians, leaving about 100 more in the

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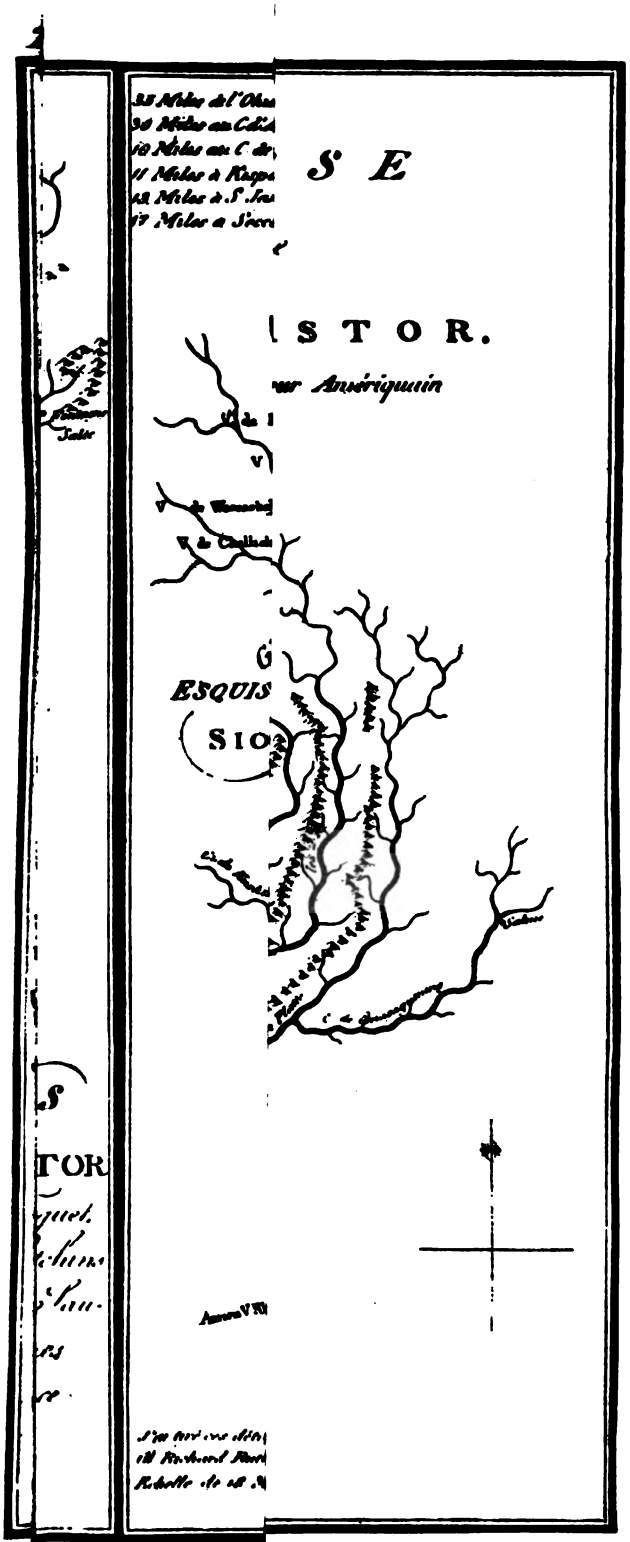

ur's 1787 Maps of

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Shawnee towns on the Scioto. A few additional captives were brought in during the succeeding week, and on the 18th of November the army started on the return March for Fort Pitt, taking with them hostages to insure the surrender of the remaining prisoners at Fort Pitt the following spring. Hutchins's map of the outward march is reproduced on a preceding page. In May, 1765, the greater part of these prisoners, forty-four in number,[1] were brought to Fort Pitt by the Shawnees and delivered into the hands of George Croghan.

The names of the prisoners delivered up to Bouquet, so far as the writer has been able to discover, have never been printed. It is doubtful if they have been preserved, in full. Among the Bouquet Papers are found two or three lists of a portion of these prisoners, which are as follows:

The following is a list of sixty Prisoners, surrendered by the Indians, who were taken by Captain Charles Lewis from the English Camp at the Forks of Muskingum, to Fort Pitt, November 15, 1764.

John Wiseman,
John Donehoe,
Soremouth,
Crooked Legs,
David Bighead,
Clen,
James Butler,
Michael Cobble,
Ponter, or Wynima,
Charles Stormontront,
Ebenezer,
Mordecai Babson,
Henry Bonnet,
James,
Tommy Wig,
Michael Lee,
George Lee,
John Huntsman.
Solomon Carpenter,
John Gilmore,
Eve Harper,
Mary Campbell,
Ann Finley,
Mary Cath. Lengenfield,
Kitty Stroudman,
Betty (black Eyes or hair),
Eliz. Franse,
Peggy Baskin,
Mary McIlroy,
Sour Plumbs,
Christiana House,
Mary Lowry,
Jane Lowry,
Susan Lowry,
Mary Greenwood,
Nancy Davison,
Molly Davison,
Magdalen, or Pagothou,
Mary Graven,
Catherine Westbrooke,
Molly Metch
Whitehead,
Margaret Yokeham,
Mary McCord,
Eliz. Gilmore,
Eliz. Gilmore, Jun'r.,
Florence Hutchinson,
Mary Lee,
Barbara Huntsman,

[1] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vii., 746.

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Susannah Fishback,
Margaret Fishback,
Peggy Freeling,
Peggy Cartmill,
Molly Cartmill,
Peggy Reyneck,
Eliz'h Slover,
Eliz'h Slover, Jun'r.,
Mary Lansisco, and child,
Girl with a sore knee.

A list bearing the same date as the above (Nov. 15, 1764) shows the number of "Prisoners supposed to be [left] at the different Shanoes' [and Delaware] Towns on Sioto [and Muskingum]," as follows: "At the New Comer's Town, 50; the New Town, 15; the Old Town, 7; Salt Lick Town, 5; Bull Head's Town, 1; at the Grenadeer's, a woman [*i.e.*, Grenadier Squaw's Town], 6; total, 84."

The following list of eighty-two prisoners at the Lower Shawnee Town is found among the Bouquet Papers, without date, but probably made in 1764. It was addressed to Colonel Bouquet, Commandant at Fort Pitt:

Robert Puzy,
John Potts,
John Cotter,
Samuel Huff,
Abraham Ormand,
John Freelands and 3 children and wife,
Daniel Cowday,
Jacob Good
Dutch John,
Thomas Cabe,
Gower Sovereign and four Children
Margrett Bard and five Children,
Mary Tringer and two Children,
Dutch Sarrah and three Children,
Sarrah Barnett and one Child,
Vanny Varnett and five Children,
Aley Cincade and three Children,
Mary Burk and two Children,
Betsey Roberston,
Hannah Densey,
Betsey Snodgrass,
Betsey Medley,
A Dutch Girl,
Nansey Miller,
Betsey Jamison,
Nely Fulerton,
Mary Moore,
Susanna Voss,
Molly Gould,
Jean Macrakin and her Sister,
Ann Folkison,
Wm. Medley,
Nansey Raneck, her sister, and four Brothers,
James Stewart,
John Guthrey,
Lezy Bingiman,
John Martin,
William Days,
Benjamin Roberston's Son,
Lodick,
Soloman Carpenter,
Margrett Carpmill,
Saley Boyles & Brother,
Joseph Ramsey,
Moly Christopher,
Molly Moore,

The final narrative to be presented in connection with the subject of this chapter will be that of a certain blood-thirsty Indian Trader

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named David Ramsay, who lived and traded on the shores of Lake Erie in the winter of 1771–72. Against this individual Sir William Johnson made the following charge, in a letter written to the Prime Minister June 29, 1772:

"A certain man of the name of Ramsay, who formerly lived amongst the Indians, and was, by Capt. Brown, late Commanding Officer at Niagara, sent away to Quebec to prevent his doing further mischief amongst them, has since found means to get a small cargo of goods upon credit, with which he went to Lake Erie, where he traded sometime with the Chippawaes and Mississages, at a considerable distance from any Fort, or place of inspection or control; but being of a disagreeable temper, and probably endeavoring to over-reach them, they warned him to remove, otherwise they would maltreat him; of which however, he took no notice, but seemed to set them at defiance, which shortly after occasioned a quarrel between him and some of them who were in liquor, of whom he killed three; upon this he withdrew to another place on Lake Erie, apprehensive of their resentment, and last April a party of Misisagas called at his trading hut, where they drank very plentifully, and as is usual with them on all such occasions, quarrelled, and threatened him, as he says, with death; to which he adds that they laid hands on him and bound him. However, he freed himself, and killed three men, one woman, and an infant, and as an aggravation of the same took off their scalps, which he brought to Niagara, where he was immediately confined by order of the commanding officer."

In April, 1772, Ramsay had brought four or five Indian scalps into Fort Niagara, where he told a story to the Commandant, of which the following was his own revised version, set down after he had been placed under confinement at the fort:

"Soon after my arrival at the River Choudier [Kettle Creek], on the north side of Lake Erie, about the beginning of December, 1771, and before I had finish'd the Building my House ["sixty miles above the mouth of Kettle Creek"], Wandagan and his Comerade, Smagunn, knowing me unarm'd, carried me down to the Boat, and insisted to have Rum, threatening to kill me; and with a Tomohawk drove some hoops of the Cask. 'You are always angry,' said they, and endeavour'd to provoke me.

"About the 20th December, Unacans, with a young Indian, traded with me; But afterwards, Unacans, with his Hatchet, and four Indians, with their knives, along with him. He insisted to have more. 'I can give you no more' (said I) He insisted, saying, 'if you think much of the Rum, I will kill you and take it'; Being so threatened, I said, 'I don't value the Rum, I will give you what you ask.' At that time they were not drunk.

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"About the middle of January, Two Indians with the Express from Detroit came to my house, one of them, named Olakesek, had a belt about his neck; it was black, and two white men in it. I believed it to be a War Belt; tho' Wandagan told me, and endeavored to make me believe it to be a peace Belt. Wandagan went to Niagara with the two Indians. During his absence, the women, by their discourse discover'd a war would happen in the Spring.

"About the beginning of February, a family of Indians came to hunt; the above nam'd Smagan liv'd with them. They laid many Schemes to kill me, and often came with their knives for that purpose. I was upon my guard, and never allow'd them to enter unless they delivered up their Knives.

"About the middle of February, the Express and Wandagan return'd. He told me so soon as the Snow was Six inches thick there would be war with the Six Nations, Saying his Chief, Teschetabra, had no liking to the English, and he would have no traders in the woods. Another Indian came, call'd Ninekanine; he profess'd friendship for me. 'These familys are bad' (Says he) 'they are resolved to kill you.' A few days after this, they brib'd him with Belts & other things to induce him to kill me; and sure enough he pledged these very belts with me, Saying, 'you must not part with them; I will have them in the Spring.'

"Some days after, Wandagan and Smagun came into my Room with their knives, 'we will kill you,' (said they). I had my knife in my hand: 'I am not afraid to Die, if you attack me I wont loose my life for nothing.' Wandagan answered, 'I have kill'd three Englishmen.' However, at that time they desisted; but I was obliged from time to time to give them Liquor and goods for nothing for the preservation of my life and to quiet them till the winter was over. That night Ninekanine came and demanded his Pokemagan (a war instrument). He had left it with me. I was afraid to give it and desired to be friends with him, gave him liquor, and promised the Pokemagan tomorrow. The others came to see the ceremony and seem'd disappointed when he had not got the instrument.

"The 26th of February, in the morning, Wandagan spoke very angry; 'this ground is the Indians',' says he, 'and I am head warrior here, and I will not allow any English to be here;' and immediately demanded a Shirt. I spoke fair and gave him a Shirt. I frequently told him the goods were not mine, and endeavour'd to pacify them. About 12 o'Clock same day, Smagan came with a Deer's head and insisted for Rum. I refus'd the head and would give him no Rum, as he was already very deep in my debt. He went off angry. In the Evening, he and six more came with their knives; whenever I heard their hoop, I went into the woods; they found me and I follow'd them into the house; they seated

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themselves according to their rank as warriors, only Ninekanine, being the one fix'd upon to kill me, sat nearest me. They were Silent some time; Wandagan, as head warrior, got up and demanded a Keg of Rum. (Said I), 'you shall not only have a Keg but I 'll give you Rum to drink"; so order'd my Brother [George Ramsay] to give them a kettle of Rum and to fill a Keg. They afterwards demand'd Guns; these I refus'd, as I kept them for my own defence and for hunting, but would give them any thing else. I had bought three pairs Snowshoes; one pair of them they had borrow'd and burnt; they wanted to borrow the others, fearing I might escape:

"Next day, the 27th, they kill'd two Dogs; boil'd them in a large Kettle. I was obliged to give them two kegs more of Rum. I went out soon after and stood behind a tree; heard them say among themselves, they would kill me and then go to River Trange and break Nigig's house. Men, Women, and Children eat part of the Dogs, and towards evening they declared war against the English, French, and Six Nations; and said so soon as the Snow was Six inches only, they would Scalp. For several days and nights they were drunk and demanded whatever they pleased in a war-like manner. When my Brother Slept, I wak'd, and so by turns, still in hopes to quiet them that I might get away, tho they were always threatning to kill me. I made them believe I was not afraid to Die, but would at the same time Sell my life as dear as I could, which kept them from attacking me; afraid of themselves as I thought, Ninekanine and others hoop'd always when they pass'd, calling out, 'the goods are ours; we 'll kill you.'

"Between the 6th and 9th of March, four of the men went, as I understood, to the River Trange, and two, with Some women, went along the Lake. They left Wandagan to guard me. He was to break my Boat, and they were to meet him at a fix'd place, and so return and kill my Brother and me. Wandagan was for killing us both, but the woman insisted to have my Brother to cut wood for boiling her Sugar. Wandagan answered, 'you Shall have him to cut wood, but I 'll kill him before I go to Detroit.' Near about the full moon in March they were drunk. The two children were afraid of being kill'd; beg'd I would take them in; which I did, and assur'd them I would defend them. I told them I would give no more liquor and went to bed; after that, they came, demanding more rum, threatening to kill me and take all I had. Not Satisfy'd with Several Refusals, they came with a bundle of lighted Straw to burn the house, as I thought, and a hatchet to break the Door and kill me if I refus'd the liquor. I was in bed, they in the house, breaking the Door of the place where I lay. I was obliged to rise up in my own defence; took a kind of Spear in my hand, desired my Brother to open the door and take care of himself. Wandagan entering with

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his hatchet to knock me down, to prevent which I pushed him back with my Spear; he catch'd hold of it and I push'd it in my own defence till he fell, calling out, I was killing him. At that time I receiv'd a Stroke betwixt my Shoulders with a Billet of wood. In the dark, I laid about with the end of my Spear; by some glimmering of light I saw a long knife Shining; I struck at that place, and found afterwards I had kill'd Wandagan and two Squaws.

"For the Safety of my Brother and the two Children I built a hutt for them behind the top of a Hill, and stay'd at my own house about Eighteen days after this happened. Then I sett off with my Brother and the two Children, meeting with many difficultys; on the 12th of April we saw a Canoo, on the Fort Erie side of Long Point. I still thought it was war, as they had declar'd it at Choudeers, so stood in my defence, calling, 'is it peace or war.' They answered, 'peace.' 'Then come,' said I, 'Have you powder and Shott,' said they, 'I have a little,' I answered; gave them some Rum. 'We 'll come out and trade with you tomorrow' (Said they). On the Tuesday following, the 14th, four Indians, two Squaws, and three Children came into the Hutt, took the victuals from the fire, eat them up, and demanded liquor. It was given them. I dreaded their design was bad; tho' they also said it was peace. They asked me, what Children these were. I said, they were English, and could speak both English and French. Some little time after they ask'd the Girl, who was about twelve years old. She told them she was an Indian, I immediately got up and told the Story myself, then ask'd if they were angry. 'No,' (Said they) 'but we must have Rum to make it up.'

"Afraid of their getting drunk and angry I prepared to get away. When all was ready they came as if to say Something to me; catch'd hold of my gun and me; threw me on my Back; had a hatchet over my head to kill me. I call'd out for quarter; then one of them Stopt the Blow, the other laying down the hatchet, Struck me on the face with his fist. I was afterwards ty'd and plac'd by the fire, they demanding more liquor. While my Brother was filling it they whoop for Joy, calling out, they had bound a Trader. So soon as my Brother brought more liquor they bound him, and fir'd two Balls in the fire, then ty'd me tighter, with my two middle fingers up to my neck, my arms to my sides as Strait as they could; repeatedly they unloos'd my Brother to bring rum, telling him they would have his Scalp tomorrow. They forced me to drink with them or be Stabbed, putting a knife to my breast. After drinking a great quantity, tho' before I lost my Senses, I saw a Squaw give one of them a knife to kill me, calling out, I would be burnt in that fire there. He immediately try'd; a Struggle follow'd and he was wounded. Another came to his assistance. I call'd to my Brother for

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help. He Shov'd the Indian off, cutt my leather bindings, Sett me at liberty, and, as he told me afterwards, and I have some reason to believe it, there were four Indians and a Child kill'd. Next day we endeavour'd to make the best of our way, but it was early, the Lake full of ice. We were cast away more than once; many of my goods lost. When we came to Point Abinoe, I sett off for Fort Erie to apprize them what had happened to me and what I had done; from that, I arriv'd here, and have been prisoner ever since.

DAVID RAMSAY.

"Niagara, May 15th, 1772."

In Sir William Johnson's letter, already quoted from, it is further stated that the General has directed that Ramsay be sent to Canada to be tried, "but, as is usual on such occasions, the interest which his creditors will make with those who are his jurors, and the prejudices of the commonalty against the Indians, will probably prove the means of his being acquitted."

Dartmouth wrote Johnson in reply to this letter: "The murders committed by Mr. Ramsay are of so atrocious and inhuman a nature, and may, in the present temper and disposition of the Indians, have consequences so fatal to the public peace, that nothing ought to be omitted that can tend to bring that person to condign punishment."

Patrick Campbell, a Scotsman who travelled in America in 1791 and 1792, has given us the further history of David Ramsay in the published account of his travels, printed at Edinburgh in 1793,[1] and has also preserved an autobiographical sketch of Ramsay's life, given to him by the latter, while he travelled with Campbell as a guide from Fort Niagara to the Genesee in March, 1792. From this sketch, it appears that Ramsay was born at Leven in Fifeshire, came to America in his youth, served the British till the close of the French War, and after 1763 settled in the Mohawk Valley. In commenting on the killing of the Indians by Ramsay, Mr. Campbell writes: "My information from others was, that though my friend David acknowledged having killed but eight Indians, yet that he really killed eleven; but as I give ample faith to his own narrative, and as he in every other respect seemed to be a man of strict veracity, honesty, and integrity, I disregard what others say, and trust to his own account.

"On the Indians hearing that David was at Niagara, they assembled in great numbers and insisted upon his being given up to them; and on the Governor's refusal, threatened to set fire to the Fort. They became at

[1] *Travels in the Interior Inhabited Parts of North America in the years 1791 and 1792*, pp. 227–243. Campbell's sketch of Ramsay has been republished in vol. vii. of the *Buffalo Historical Society Publications* (1904); and a brief sketch in vol. ix.. pp. 284–285.

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last so clamorous that the Governor sent a party, unknown to the Indians, to Montreal with David, where he was fifteen months in prison; and as no proof could be brought against him in a regular trial, and that every body knew that he acted in self defence only, he was liberated. And what is strange, and what the like never was known before, is, that he now lives in intimacy and friendship with every tribe, and the sons and daughters of the very people he had killed. They gave him a grant, regularly extended upon stamped paper, of four miles square of as good lands as any in Upper Canada,"

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Much information not given in the text or notes will be found in this Index. The names of Indian Towns, and of Creeks, Forts, Lakes, Mountains, Rivers, etc., are printed together, under their respective headings. The names of the Indian Towns are also printed in the Main Index. Important titles are printed in small capitals.

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